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# EARLY HISTORY

and that of the early  
settlers of the  
country of which the  
early history is the  
subject of this volume  
and the early history of the  
country of which the  
early history is the  
subject of this volume



W<sup>th</sup> be sure y<sup>r</sup> Natives have  
desir'd Satisfaction, (as  
knowing y<sup>t</sup> we have exceeded  
y<sup>r</sup> Bounds set vs by y<sup>r</sup> Sa-  
chims) We have Satisfied them.

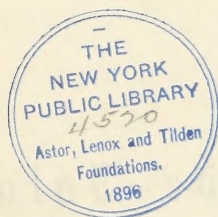
Roger Williams.

HISTORICAL DISCOVERY  
B. 2. 1  
THE  
EARLY HISTORY  
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AN  
HISTORICAL DISCOURSE,  
ON  
THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS  
OF THE COLONY OF  
RHODE-ISLAND.  
BY JOHN CALLENDER, M. A.

WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR: BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF  
SOME OF HIS DISTINGUISHED CONTEMPORARIES;  
AND ANNOTATIONS AND ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF  
THE HISTORY OF RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLAN-  
TATIONS, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO THE  
END OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

BY ROMEO ELTON, D. D.,

Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen; of the French  
Society of Universal Statistics, at Paris; of the American Statistical Associa-  
tion; Corresponding Member of the Northern Academy of Arts and  
Sciences; Vice-President of the R. I. Historical Society; Hon-  
orary Member of the New York, Connecticut and Georgia  
Historical Societies, etc. etc.; and Professor of the  
Latin and Greek Languages and Literature  
in Brown University.

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*Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum.*  
CICERO.

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THIRD EDITION.

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THOMAS H. WEBB & COMPANY.  
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#### ADVERTISEMENT.

In 1836, the Editor was appointed by the R. I. Historical Society, to revise Callender's Century Discourse for republication, and to prepare a biographical sketch of the author, &c. When ready for the press, in accordance with the practice of the Trustees, a Committee was appointed to make a report to the Board, and the work was published as Vol. 4, of the Society's Collections. It is thought proper, therefore, to retain the Preface. As no portrait of the venerable Roger Williams exists, as the best substitute, a fac-simile of his autograph is prefixed to this edition.

The encouraging approbation bestowed on this work by the public, and the favorable notice which it has received from the leading Reviews, Literary and Religious, in the various sections of the Union, are gratifying to the Editor, as indicating an increasing interest in those studies and researches which relate to the history of our country.

ROMEO ELTON.

Brown University, March, 1843.

## PREFACE.

---

It has, for several years, been the desire and intention of the Rhode-Island Historical Society to cause Callender's Historical Discourse, with appropriate notes and a selection of documents requisite for its illustration, to be embodied in their published Collections. The original edition of the Discourse, which was published in 1739, has long been out of print. Of that edition but few copies remain perfect, and even these are extremely rare. The propriety, and indeed necessity, of its republication has been rendered greater during each succeeding year, by the increased attention which has been paid to the early history of New-England, among the memorials of which, this work has ever been held in high and merited estimation.

In the accomplishment of this object, it has been fortunate for the Society that the editorship of the present edition, with the task of preparing such notes and additions as it was desirable should accompany it, has been undertaken by one qualified to discharge it with so much ability. The original materials which Professor Elton has contributed, the information contained in the notes, respecting distinguished individuals whose names are connected with the history of the Colony during the first century, add much to the value of the work; and when it is considered how little has been known in rela-

tion to the life of Mr. Callender, we feel confident that every reader of the Discourse will be gratified to find so interesting a Memoir of its author.

The Appendix of historical documents is extensive and well selected. All the papers which it contains, not only deserve a place in the Collections of the Society, but are also particularly valuable as explanatory of the facts narrated in the Discourse, conveying, as they do, full information on many points to which brief references only could be made in a work written for such an occasion. With regard to the manner in which these documents are here published, the Committee are happy in bearing testimony to the unwearied care and minute examination which have been bestowed in their preparation for the press. In every instance, they have been carefully compared with the originals, and no pains have been spared to ensure their correctness.

In presenting this volume, the Committee can therefore speak with much confidence respecting the manner in which Professor Elton has met the wishes of the Historical Society. He is entitled to the thanks of that Society, for the valuable addition which he has made to their Collections, and deserves the grateful remembrance of the people of our State, for the satisfactory manner in which he has illustrated this history of their forefathers.

ALBERT G. GREENE,  
WILLIAM G. GODDARD.

Providence, April, 1838.



# MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. JOHN CALLENDER, A. M.

---

BIOGRAPHY, as well as history, is too frequently employed in eulogizing men who have distinguished themselves merely as crafty statesmen or as ambitious warriors. The historian and the biographer say little of those characters who are actuated by christian principle, and who seek not *the praise of men, but of God*. Moral excellence, however, is the most beneficial to mankind; and it is but justice to allow it to participate in those honors which are more usually appropriated to men of great depravity of heart, and who employ their fellow men only as tools for advancing their own ambition. The biography of a person of unostentatious piety and goodness, may afford more useful instruction to the majority of readers, than the dazzling exploits of an Alexander the Great, a Julius Cæsar, or a Buonaparte.

The subject of the following memoir, died nearly a century ago, and it is to be regretted that the materials to fill up his character are not more ample; particularly those parts of his private con-

duct, which would have made us familiar with this excellent man, and imparted a graphic reality to the portrait. The imperfect sketch which follows, will not do justice to the subject, but it may, at least, furnish a few facts respecting a man who possessed a mind of no ordinary vigor, and whose memory is still precious.

The REV. JOHN CALLENDER was born of reputable parents, in the city of Boston, Mass., A. D. 1706. His father, John Callender, Esq., was the son of the Rev. Ellis Callender, the highly honored and esteemed minister of the first Baptist Church in Boston from 1708 till 1726. Elisha Callender, his son, uncle to the subject of this memoir, became his successor in the pastoral office. This gentleman was educated at Harvard College, and was one of the fourteen students who were graduated in the year 1710. At his ordination, which took place May 21, 1718, three Congregational ministers gave their assistance, viz. Dr. Increase Mather, Dr. Cotton Mather, and Rev. John Webb. Dr. Cotton Mather preached the ordination sermon, which was entitled, *Good Men United*.\*

This expression of Christian feeling on the part of the Congregational ministers in Boston, and the catholic spirit which existed at Cambridge, induced Thomas Hollis, Esq. of London, a wealthy merchant, of the Baptist denomination, to bestow

\* See note A.

very large benefactions upon Harvard College. Besides making large additions to its library and philosophical apparatus, he founded two professorships in that Institution, one of Divinity, and one of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, and endowed the College to the amount of a hundred pounds a year, to be distributed among ten scholars of good character.\*

Mr. Callender continued faithful and successful in the pastoral office, till his death, March 31, 1738. A few days before he died, he said, "When I look on one hand, I see nothing but sin, guilt and discouragement; but when I look on the other, I see my glorious Saviour, and the merits of his precious blood which cleanseth from all sin. I cannot say, I have such transports of joy as some have had, but through grace I can say, I have gotten the victory over death and the grave." His obituary in the public newspaper, three days after his death, was in the following words: "On Friday morning last, after a lingering sickness, deceased the Rev. Mr. Elisha Callender, minister of the Baptist Church in this town; a gentleman universally beloved by people of all persuasions for his charitable and catholic way of thinking. His life was unspotted, and his conversation always affable, religious, and truly manly. During his long illness, he was remarkably patient, and, in his last hours, like the blessed above, pacific and entirely serene; his

\* See note B.

senses were good to the last. 'I shall,' said he, 'sleep in Jesus,' and that moment expired, very much lamented by all that knew him." He published a century sermon in the year 1720, commemorative of the landing of our forefathers at Plymouth, which has furnished important information for succeeding historians.

Of the early years of JOHN CALLENDER, the subject of the following narrative, we have little information. At the age of thirteen he entered Harvard College, where he received the benefit of Mr. Hollis's donation. The Hon. John Leverett, F. R. S. was at that time its President, a man whose mental excellencies were adorned by the noblest moral qualities. Here, his vigorous understanding was cultivated, a proper direction given to his activity, and his mind imbued with the principles of virtue and religion. He graduated from that Institution in 1723. In the same year, he was baptised on a profession of faith, and united with the first Baptist Church in Boston, of which his uncle was pastor. He was licensed to preach by this church, in June, 1727. In August, 1728, he received and accepted an invitation from the Baptist Church in Swansea, the oldest in Massachusetts, to supply their pulpit, and continued laboring among this people until February 15, 1730. Soon after, he received a request from the first Baptist Church in Newport, to visit and preach to them. This was the second Baptist Church in America, and was founded in

1644. After long and mature deliberation and earnest prayer, he accepted the invitation of that Church to the pastoral office, and was ordained, October 13, 1731. Rev. Elisha Callender, of Boston, preached on the occasion, from Matthew xxviii; 18, 19. Mr. Callender continued the faithful and beloved pastor of this church and congregation, till he was called to his final rest.

Soon after his settlement in Newport, he became a member of a literary and philosophical society established in that place. The celebrated Dean, afterwards Bishop Berkeley, who resided there at that time, is thought to have suggested its formation.\* The society was select, and some of its members were men of great intellectual power—among whom were Judge Edward Scott, Hon. Daniel Updike, Governor Josias Lyndon, Dr. John Brett, Hon. Thomas Ward, Hon. William Ellery, Rev. James Honyman, Rev. James Searing, Rev. John Checkley, jun., and Rev. Jeremiah Condry, of Boston. Among the occasional members were Governor Stephen Hopkins and Samuel Johnson, D. D., afterwards President of Columbia College, New-York. As this was probably one of the earliest societies of the kind in this country, we have thought proper to subjoin a copy of its rules and regulations, the original of which, (in the hand writing of Judge Scott,) is in the archives of the Rhode-Island Historical Society.

\* See note C.



“Whereas, A. D. 1730, Messrs. Daniel Updike, Peter Bours, James Searing, Edward Scott, Henry Collins, Nathan Townsend, Jeremiah Condry and James Honeyman, jun. did form a Society for the promotion of Knowledge and Virtue, by a free conversation according to several regulations by them agreed.

“We the present members of the said Society, finding it necessary on many accounts for the more effectual answering the end of our Institution, do agree to enter into a more strict engagement, and establish the following as the laws and orders to be observed in this Society.

“1. The members of the Society shall meet every Monday evening, at the house of one of the members, *seriatim*, and converse about and debate, some useful question in Divinity, Morality, Philosophy, History, &c.

“2. The member who proposed the question, shall be moderator, (*pro hac vice*) and see that order and decency be maintained in all the debates and conversation.

“3. Every member in order shall freely give his opinion with his reasons, having liberty to explain the sense of the question, or his own expressions, and to retract or alter his opinion as to him shall seem right.

"4. The member at whose house we meet shall propose a question for the next evening's conversation, the Society to judge of its propriety and usefulness, only nothing shall ever be proposed or debated which is a distinguishing religious tenet of any one member.

"5. No member shall divulge the opinion or arguments of any particular member as to any subject debated in the Society, on penalty of a perpetual exclusion. Nevertheless, any member may gratify the curiosity of any that may inquire the names, number, general design, method and laws of the Society, and the opinions or conclusions of the major part, without discovering how any particular member voted.

"6. The moderator for the time being shall keep a book, in which he shall register the questions and the solutions or answers, and another for the fines and forfeits that may become due.

"7. The question shall be propounded by the moderator exactly at seven in the evening, or if he be then absent, another shall be chosen in his room, and whoever shall come after that, shall forfeit one shilling; whoever is absent the whole evening, shall forfeit two shillings and six pence; only the moderator shall forfeit double. Whoever shall make it an excuse to avoid giving his opinion, that he has not thought of the question, or has for-

got what the question is, shall forfeit one shilling. Whoever is unprovided of a proper question, on his turn to propound it, shall forfeit one shilling. He that omits to register the question or solution in his turn, shall forfeit two shillings and six pence. A treasurer shall be chosen once in three months, and whoever shall refuse an office when chosen, shall forfeit five shillings. And every treasurer that is deficient in his duty in collecting the fines, shall pay them himself. No excuse shall be taken for absence but sickness in person, or family, or the being out of town. The fines shall be gathered every month, and be laid out in books, &c., as the Society shall think best. Whoever shall absent himself a quarter of a year successively, without sufficient excuse, shall have his name struck out of the list.

“8. Any member may bring with him any friend or stranger who shall desire it, and whom he may think may not be offensive to any other member.

“9. Any member may propose a candidate, but none shall be admitted without the full and free consent of every member, to be manifested in written votes, after a month's probation. However, the same person that has been negatived, may be propounded again by another member.

“10. If the Society incline to choose any gentlemen at a distance to be occasional members, their

election shall be made in the same manner; they shall be subject to the same rules of secrecy, and have the same liberty to speak and debate any subject with the other members, and shall vote in all occasional matters.

“11. The laws shall be publicly read in the Society every three months, on the same evening that the treasurer is chosen. And every member shall then produce his copy, upon the forfeiture of two shillings and six pence.

“12. Every member shall promote the good of the Society, as far as lies in his power.

“13. Each of the present members shall sign these articles in the book, and shall have a copy of them, signed by the moderator for the time being, to be and remain as a proof and token of our fellowship and society. And every gentleman that may hereafter be chosen a member, shall enter his name in the same manner, and have a copy of the laws signed as above, together with a list of the Society, and a copy of the additional or explanatory laws that may hereafter be made.

Newport, February 2, 1735.

DANIEL UPDIKE,  
PETER BOURS,  
EDWARD SCOTT,  
NATHAN TOWNSEND,  
SAMUEL WICKHAM,

JOHN BRETT,  
CHARLES BARDIN,  
J. HONYMAN, jun. Feb. 9th.  
HEZ. CARPENTER, May 24, 1736  
JAMES SEARING,

THOMAS WARD,	JOSEPH JACOB,
JOSIAS LYNDON,	WILLIAM ELLERY, Oct. 3, 1737
JOHN CALLENDER, jun.	JOS. SYLVESTER,
SUETON GRANT,	JOHN CHECKLEY, jun.

## OCCASIONAL MEMBERS.

JOHN ADAMS,	JOHN WALLACE,
DANIEL HUBBARD,	STEPHEN HOPKINS,
JEREMIAH CONDY,	SAMUEL JOHNSON.

“ Oct. 3, 1737. Voted, That every member who shall neglect to bring or send the book of fines, shall forfeit two shillings and six pence. A true copy, compared with the Society’s book, by  
**EDWARD SCOTT, Moderator.**”

One of the objects of this Society was the collection of valuable books. It was subsequently joined by Abraham Redwood, Esq. who gave the the sum of five hundred pounds sterling to increase its library, on condition the Society would build a suitable edifice. The Society obtained a charter from the Colony in 1747, by the name of The Company of the Redwood Library. In 1748, the present classical building was erected, from a design by Harrison, the assistant architect of Blenheim House, England. This library contains many choice and rare European editions.

Apart from his more ordinary employment and influence as a minister of the gospel, Mr. Callender acted an important part in relation to the more general and public interests of the town and State.



In civil matters he was much consulted, and frequent and honorable mention of his name appears on the records of the town. His character commanded the respect and confidence not only of his own church and society, but also of the State of which he was an intelligent and useful citizen.

In 1739, Mr. Callender published a historical discourse on the civil and religious affairs of the Colony of Rhode-Island, from the settlement in 1638 to the end of the first century, usually known by the name of the "Century Sermon." This is the only history of the Colony or State of Rhode Island, which has been written, and though small, it is a noble and enduring monument to the talent and piety of its author. It is written with great fidelity, is distinguished by solid and profound philosophical views, and by an ardent attachment to the principles of civil and religious freedom. It breathes a spirit of candor, impartiality, and enlightened piety, in ever page. Mr. Callender evidently took great pains in investigating the sources from which he drew his information, and his observations on men and things indicate an acute, observant and reflecting mind.

In the same year, he published a sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Jeremiah Condry, A. M., to the pastoral care of the Baptist Church in Boston. In this sermon, the liberal sentiments of Mr. Callender on the subject of free communion, are

fully exhibited. After earnestly inculcating the duty of all Christians loving one another as brethren, he observes, "But I have trespassed too much upon your patience already, and shall therefore only beg leave to add, that if that *glorious principle* which was a fundamental article in the constitution of the first *Baptist Church*, gathered in this *Province*, could be fully acted upon, we might with the utmost propriety, join the heavenly host, and sing, *Glory to God in the highest: Peace on earth, and good will towards and among men.* For they declared in their church covenant, "That union to Christ was the sole ground of their communion with each other, and that they were ready to accept of, receive to, and hold church-communion with, all such, as in a judgment of charity, were fellow-members with them in their head Christ Jesus, though differing in such controversial points, as are not absolutely and essentially necessary to salvation."<sup>\*</sup>

The religious sentiments of Mr. Callender were ever thus fearlessly avowed and honestly maintained. His inflexible integrity did not permit him to conceal the convictions of his mind on any subject which he thought affected the social, political or moral interests of mankind.

Mr. Callender was ingenious in devising plans of usefulness, and especially in endeavoring to promote the welfare of the young. In 1741, he pub-

<sup>\*</sup> See note D.

lished a sermon on the advantages of early religion, preached to a society of young men in Newport. This sermon is replete with sound practical instruction, flowing from a heart warmed with the love of God.

In the year 1745, Mr. Callender published a discourse occasioned by the death of his friend, the Rev. Mr. Clap, in which he pays a tribute of affectionate veneration to his memory. Mr. Callender's sermon was founded on Hebrews xiii. 7, 8.

The prominent traits in the character of Mr. Clap, are faithfully delineated in the following extracts from that sermon :

“The main stroke in his character was his eminent sanctity and piety, and an ardent desire to promote the knowledge and practice of true godliness in others. As his understanding was above the common level, so was his learning, though he studiously concealed it. He thought his station required more than common instances of innocency, self-denial and caution.

“He was zealously attached to what he considered as the true doctrines of grace, and to the forms of worship he thought to be of divine institution. But his charity embraced good men of all denominations. He had little value for mere speculative, local, nominal christianity, and a form of godliness without the power. He insisted most on those things on which our interest in Jesus Christ and our title to eternal life must depend: that *faith*

by which we are justified and have peace with God through our Lord Jesus, and that *repentance* towards God and *new obedience*, which are the necessary effect and evidence of our regeneration, and the proper exercise of christianity.

“He abounded in contrivances to do good by scattering books of piety and virtue, not such as minister questions and strife, but godly edifying, and put himself to a very considerable expense, that he might, in this method, awaken the careless and secure, comfort the feeble minded, succor the tempted, instruct the ignorant, and quicken, animate and encourage all.

“He abounded in acts of charity to the poor and necessitous—to whom he was a kind father and guardian.

“In fine, he was a public blessing, as an able minister of the New Testament, an example of unsuspected piety, and an honor to religion.

“There are two things in which he excelled in so remarkable a manner, that I must not omit them : his care about the education of children, and his concern for the instruction of servants.

“The conclusion of his life and ministry was a peaceful and happy death, without those raptures which some boast of, but with perfect resignation to the will of God, and good hope and humble confidence in Christ Jesus, who was the sum of his doctrine and the end of his conversation.”\*

\* See Note E.

Mr. Callender collected many papers relating to the history of the Baptist denomination in this country, which were used by the Rev. Isaac Backus in his Church History of New-England.

After a long and painful illness, which he bore with Christian resignation, he died in full expectation of the blessedness of the righteous, January 26, 1748, in the 42d year of his age.

Mr. Callender, on the 15th of February, 1730, was married to Elizabeth Hardin, of Swansey, Mass. By this lady he had six children: Elizabeth, Mary, John, Elias, Sarah and Josias. The following description of his person is taken principally from an original portrait: He was about the middle size, graceful and well proportioned. His complexion was fair, his features were regular, his forehead was high and prominent, and in his countenance there was an admirable mixture of gravity and sweetness. His eyes were of a dark blue, and said to be remarkable for their intelligence and brilliancy.

The character of Mr. Callender, both in public and private life, was truly amiable and excellent. Whether viewed as a citizen, a relative, a friend, a christian, or a minister of the gospel, he adorned the sphere in which he moved.



His remains were interred in the common burying ground at Newport, where a tomb was erected to his memory, on which is the following inscription, composed by Dr. Moffatt, a celebrated physician of that town :

“Confident of awaking, here repositeth

JOHN CALLENDER ;

Of very excellent endowments from nature,

And of an accomplished education,

Improved by application in the wide circle

Of the more polite arts and useful sciences.

From motives of conscience and grace

He dedicated himself to the immediate service

Of God,

In which he was distinguished as a shining

And very burning light by a true and faithful

Ministry of seventeen years in the first Baptist

Church of Rhode-Island ; where the purity

And evangelical simplicity of his doctrine, confirmed

And embellished by the virtuous and devout tenor

Of his own life,

Endeared him to his flock, and justly conciliated

The esteem, love and reverence of all the

Wise, worthy and good.

Much humility, benevolence and charity

Breathed in his conversation, discourses and writ-

ings,

Which were all pertinent, reasonable and useful,  
Regretted by all; lamented by his friends; and  
Deeply deplored by a wife and numerous issue,

He died,

In the forty-second year of his age,

January 26, 1748;

Having struggled through the vale of life

In adversity, much sickness and pain,

With fortitude, dignity and elevation of soul,

Worthy of the Philosopher, Christian and Divine.”



## NOTES TO THE MEMOIR.

---

### NOTE A—p. 10.

Dr. Cotton Mather, in his ordination sermon, after alluding to the severities which had been used against Christians by the ruling powers, says :

“Cursed the anger, for it is fierce, and the wrath, for it is cruel ; good for nothing but only to make divisions in Jacob and dispersions in Israel. Good men, alas ! good men have done such ill things as these ; yea few churches of the reformation have been wholly clear of these iniquities. New-England, also, has in some former times done something of this aspect, which would not now be so well approved of ; in which, if the brethren in whose house we are now convened, met with any thing too unbrotherly, they now with satisfaction hear us expressing our dislike of every thing which looked like persecution in the days that have passed over us.”

The following is the copy of the letter sent to the Church under the care of Dr. Mather and Rev. Mr. Webb, on Mr. Callender's ordination :

*“Honored and beloved in the Lord,*

“Considering that there ought to be a holy fellowship maintained among godly Christians, and that it is a duty

for us to receive one another as Christ also received us to the glory of God, notwithstanding some differing persuasions in matters of doubtful disputation ; and although we have not so great latitude as to the subject of baptism as the churches of New-England generally have ; notwithstanding, as to the fundamental principles in your doctrine of Christ, both as to the faith and order of the gospel, we concur with them ; being also satisfied that particular churches have power from Christ to choose their own pastors, and that elders ought to be ordained in every Church ; and having chosen our well beloved brother, Elisha Callender, to be our pastor, we entreat you to send your elders and messengers to give the Right Hand of Fellowship in his ordination.”

#### NOTE B—p. 11.

Thomas Hollis, Esq., was a great patron and friend of learning. He was a Baptist, but not a sectarian. What he required in the character of the professor of divinity was, “that he should be a man of solid learning in divinity, of sound and orthodox principles, one who is well gifted to teach, of a sober and pious life, and of a grave conversation.”\*

The following extract is taken from a sermon delivered before the General Court, by Dr. Benjamin Colman, of Boston, occasioned by the death of Mr. Hollis :

“He was one of those righteous men who should be had in everlasting remembrance. Like *Araunah*, he gave

\* Pierce’s History of Harvard University, Ap. p. 96.



as a prince. Of his own mere motion he poured in upon us, and upon other places also, from time to time, as a living spring whose waters fail not. That which is *singular* in the piety and benefits of Mr. Hollis unto these churches was, that he was not strictly of our way, nor in judgment with us in point of infant baptism; yet his heart and hand was the same to us, *as if we had been one* in opinion and practice with him. And in this let him stand a *teaching pattern* and example to us of a noble, Christian, and catholic spirit of love."

"It was some account he received from us of the free and catholic air we breathe at Cambridge, where protestants of every denomination may have their children educated, and graduated in our college, if they behave with sobriety and virtue, that took his generous heart and fixed it on us, and enlarged it to us. And this shall be with me among his distinguishing praises, while we rise up and bless his memory; that is, bless God in remembrance of all the undeserved favors done us by him."—*Colman's Life*.

The first professor of divinity in Harvard College, was Rev. Edward Wigglesworth, D. D., chosen in 1721, at the age of thirty. He was a classmate of Rev. Elisha Callender, and occupied the divinity chair more than forty years, with a high reputation for piety and learning.

## NOTE C.—p. 13.

*Biographical Sketch of Dean Berkeley, afterwards  
Bishop of Cloyne, who resided on Rhode-Island,  
1729—1731.*

Dr. GEORGE BERKELEY was born at Kilkrin, in Ireland, in 1684. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, where he distinguished himself by his literary attainments and the superior powers of his mind. He became a Fellow of Trinity College in 1707; and was created D. D. in 1717. By the recommendation of Swift, he accompanied, as chaplain and secretary, the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, who was appointed ambassador to Sicily; and afterwards, when disappointed in his expectations of preferment, he spent four years on the Continent, as travelling tutor to the son of Dr. Ashe, Bishop of Clogher. Shortly after his return to London, in 1721, he was appointed chaplain to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, the Duke of Grafton. By a legacy of Miss Vanhomrigh, the Vanessa of Swift, his fortune was considerably increased. In 1724, on being promoted to the Deanry of Derry, he resigned his Fellowship. He now published his proposals for the conversion of the American savages to Christianity, by the establishment of a College in the Bermuda Islands. The plan was very favorably received; and he obtained a charter for a College, in which he was named the first President. He received, also, from Sir Robert Walpole, a promise of a grant of twenty thousand

pounds to carry it into effect. Having resigned his living, worth eleven thousand pounds per annum, and all his hopes of preferment, he set sail for the field of his distant labors, with his family, and three Fellows of Trinity College, and several literary and scientific gentlemen. He landed at Newport, after a tedious passage of five months, January 23, 1729. His arrival is thus announced in the *New-England Weekly Journal*:

“NEWPORT, January 24, 1729.

“Yesterday arrived here, Dean Berkeley, of *London-derry*, in a pretty large ship. He is a gentleman of middle stature, of an agreeable, pleasant, and erect aspect. He was ushered into the town with a great number of gentlemen, to whom he behaved after a very complaisant manner. 'Tis said he purposes to tarry here with his family about three months.”

The following extract of a letter was written by Dean Berkeley to Thomas Prior, Esq., of Dublin, soon after his arrival at Newport :

“NEWPORT, in Rhode-Island, April 24, 1729.

“I can by this time say something to you, from my own experience, of this place and people. The inhabitants are of a mixed kind, consisting of many sects and subdivisions of sects. Here are four sorts of Anabaptists, besides Presbyterians, Quakers, Independents, and many of no profession at all. Notwithstanding so many differences, here are fewer quarrels about religion than elsewhere, the people living peaceably with their neighbors of whatsoever

persuasion. 'They all agree in one point, that the church of England is the second best. The climate is like that of Italy, and not at all colder in the winter than I have known it every where north of Rome. The spring is late ; but to make amends, they assure me the autumns are the finest and longest in the world ; and the summers are much pleasanter than those of Italy by all accounts, forasmuch as the grass continues green, which it doth not there. This island is pleasantly laid out in hills, and vales and rising grounds, hath plenty of excellent springs and fine rivulets, and many delightful landscapes of rocks and promontories, and adjacent lands. The provisions are very good, so are the fruits, which are quite neglected, though vines sprout up of themselves to an extraordinary size, and seem as natural to this soil as to any I ever saw. The town of Newport contains about six thousand souls, and is the most thriving place in all America for bigness. It is very pretty, and pleasantly situated. I was never more agreeably surprised than at the first sight of the town and harbor."

Soon after his arrival, the Dean purchased a country seat and farm about three miles from Newport, and there erected a house which he named Whitehall. He was admitted a freeman of the Colony, at the General Assembly, in May, 1729. He resided at Newport about two years and a half, and often preached at Trinity Church. Though he was obliged to return to Europe without effecting his original design, yet his visit was of great utility in imparting an impulse to the literature of our country, particularly in Rhode-Island,

and Connecticut. During his residence on the Island of Rhode-Island, he meditated and composed his *Alciphron*, or Minute Philosopher, and tradition says, principally at a place about half a mile southerly from Whitehall. There, in the most elevated part of the Hanging Rocks, (so called,) he found a natural alcove, roofed and open to the south, commanding at once a beautiful view of the ocean and the circumjacent islands. This place is said to have been his favorite retreat. His Minute Philosopher was published in London, in 1732, shortly after his return. This acute and ingenious defence of the Christian religion, is written in a series of dialogues after the model of Plato. It contains many allusions to the scenery about his residence on Rhode-Island. In the introduction, he alludes, with the resignation of a Christian philosopher, to the miscarriage of his plan in founding a College. He says:

“I flattered myself, Theages, that before this time I might have been able to have sent you an agreeable account of the success of the affair that brought me into this remote corner of the country. But instead of this, I should now give the detail of the miscarriage, if I did not choose to entertain you with some incidents which have helped to make me easy under the circumstance which I could neither obviate nor foresee. Events are not always in our power, but it always is to make a good use of the very worst. And I must needs own, the course and event of this affair gave me opportunity for reflections that make me some amends for a great loss of time, pains



and expense. For several months past, I enjoyed much liberty and leisure in this distant retreat.”

To Bishop Berkeley, the literary institutions of New-England are much indebted. He visited Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1731, and during his residence at Newport, augmented the library of Harvard College by valuable donations of the Latin and Greek classics. To Yale College, he presented eight hundred and eighty volumes, and, on his departure from Newport, he gave the Whitehall estate, consisting of his mansion and one hundred acres of land, for three scholarships in Latin and Greek. After his return to England, in 1733, he sent a magnificent organ, as a donation to Trinity Church, in Newport, which is still in constant use, and bears an inscription, which perpetuates the generosity of the donor.

Parliament having failed to afford him that assistance for the establishment of a College, which had been promised, his project miscarried. After he had spent more than seven years of the prime of his life, and a large part of his private fortune in endeavors to accomplish it, he returned to England.

In 1734, he was raised to the See of Cloyne, and, twelve years after, he refused the offer from lord Chesterfield of a translation to the Bishopric of Clogher. In the discharge of his high office, his gen-

erosity was conspicuous in the sacrifices he made, as well as in the tokens of his beneficence which he scattered around him. When, in consequence of the infirmities of age, he was unable to attend to his episcopal duties, he was unwilling to receive the emoluments of his Bishopric, and generously signed over the demense lands to be renewed at a yearly rent of two hundred pounds sterling, which sum, by his orders, was distributed among the poor. In 1752, he retired to Oxford, that he might pass the remainder of his days in learned leisure, and for the purpose of superintending the education of his son.

This excellent man died suddenly and calmly at Oxford, January 14, 1753, in the seventy-third year of his age.

Berkeley was endued with great powers of mind, and possessed of vast stores of erudition. His intellectual and moral qualities conspired to form in him a character of high and attractive excellence. The learned Bishop Atterbury said of him: "So much understanding, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, until I saw this gentleman." Pope, who, as a friend, knew him well, describes him as possessed of "every virtue under Heaven."

The following verses were written by Bishop Berkeley, during his residence in Newport.

*“ On the prospect of planting Arts and Learning in  
America.*

“ The muse, disgusted at an age and clime,  
Barren of every glorious theme,  
In distant lands now waits a better time,  
Producing subjects worthy fame :

“ In happy climes, where from the genial sun  
And virgin earth fresh scenes ensue,  
The force of art by nature seems outdone,  
And fancied beauties by the true :

“ In happy climes, the seat of innocence,  
Where nature guides and virtue rules,  
Where men shall not impose for truth and sense  
The pedantry of courts and schools :

“ There shall be sung another golden age,  
The rise of empire and of arts,  
The good and great inspiring epic rage,  
The wisest heads and noblest hearts.

“ Not such as Europe breeds in her decay ;  
Such as she bred when fresh and young,  
When heavenly flame did animate the clay  
By future ages shall be sung.”

“ Westward the course of empire takes its way ;  
The *four* first acts already past,  
A *fifth* shall close the drama with the day ;  
Time’s noblest offspring is the last.”

## NOTE D—p. 20.

The following extract is from the letter sent by the First Baptist Church in Boston, to the Congregational Church in Cambridge, when Mr. Condry was to be ordained.

*"To the Church of Christ in Cambridge, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Nathaniel Appleton.*

*"Honored and beloved in the Lord :*

"This is to request you to send your Reverend Elders and Messengers to assist in the ordination of our elected Pastor, on the second Wednesday in February next. A request of the like tenor with this we have made to the churches in Boston, under the care of the Rev. Messrs. Webster and Gray, and Mr. William Hooper.

"Honored and beloved, we heartily wish you all spiritual blessings in Christ Jesus, the glorious head of the Church. We are, in behalf and by order of the Church, your affectionate brethren in the Gospel.

"SHEM DROWNE, Deacon.

"JOHN CALLENDER,\*

"JAMES BOUND,

"BENJ. LANDON,

"JOHN PROCTOR."

\* This gentleman was the father of the subject of this Memoir.

The following is an extract from the manuscript journal of Rev. John Comer, A. B., who was the predecessor of Rev. John Callender in the pastoral care of the first Baptist Church in Newport.

“January 31, 1725. This day I was baptised by the Rev. Mr. Elisha Callender, and was admitted into full communion with the Baptist Church in Boston, having before waited on the Rev. Mr. Appleton, of Cambridge, and discoursed with him on the point of baptism, together with my resolution—upon which he signified I might, notwithstanding, maintain my communion in his church: by which I discovered the candor and catholic temper of his spirit.”

Mr. Comer's manuscript journal, two volumes folio, is now deposited in the cabinet of the Rhode-Island Historical Society. It is a curious production, giving an account of all the remarkable events with which he became acquainted, interspersed with prayers, religious reflections, &c. Mr. Comer had formed the design of writing the history of the American Baptists, and had collected many useful materials for this purpose, which were of great advantage to Edwards, Backus, and Benedict in their histories. For an account of this excellent man, we refer the reader to Backus, vol. 2, p. 66, 111; Benedict, vol. 1, p. 497.



## NOTE E.—p. 22

*Biographical notice of Rev. Nathaniel Clap.*

The Rev. Nathaniel Clap, minister of the first Congregational Church in Newport, Rhode-Island, was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, January, 1668. He was a descendant from one of the first planters in Massachusetts. He was graduated at Harvard College, in 1690, and while he was young his praise was in the churches, for his piety, learning, and pulpit talents. He began to preach in Newport, 1695, and in the midst of many discouragements, continued his labors till a church was formed, of which he was ordained pastor, November 3, 1720. He was minister in Newport near fifty years, and continued his pastoral care over the first Congregational Church till his death. When Mr. Whitefield arrived at Newport from Charleston, in the year 1740, he called upon Mr. Clap, and he speaks of him as the most venerable man he ever beheld. "He looked," says Mr. Whitefield, "like a good old puritan, and gave me an idea of what stamp those men were, who first settled New-England. His countenance was very heavenly, and he prayed most affectionately for a blessing on my coming to Rhode-Island. I could not but think, that I was sitting by one of the patriarchs."—*Whitefield's Journal*.

Dean Berkeley was intimate with Mr. Clap, and often spoke of his good deeds and exemplary

character. He said, "Before I saw *father Clap*, I thought the Bishop of Rome had the most grave aspect of any man I ever saw, but really the minister of Newport has the most venerable appearance." Mr. Clap died October 30, 1745, in the seventy-eighth year of his age.

NOTE F—p. 23.

Mary Callender, daughter of the subject of this Memoir, was born in Newport, Dec. 12, 1731. She was about sixteen years of age when her father died; and soon after his decease, at the request of his friends, Joseph Jacob and wife, she became an inmate in their family. At the age of twenty, she became a member of the first Baptist Church, of which her father had been pastor. In the year 1762, she united with the Society of Friends, and in the 37th year of her age she became a preacher in that denomination. November 11th, 1778, she was married in Providence to Joseph Mitchell, a worthy member of the Society of Friends. In 1787, she removed to Nantucket. She quietly departed this life June 26, 1810, in the 78th year of her age. A short account of her life has been published, written by herself, with selections from some of her writings. She sustained, during the whole of her life, a most exemplary Christian character, and was held in great esteem by the Society of Friends, and by all who had the pleasure of her acquaintance.

In her account of her life, Mary Mitchell frequently speaks in the most affectionate terms of her parents. In page 9, she says:

“My father was much beloved and respected by people of all ranks that were acquainted with him; he being a person of an enlarged mind, embraced the virtuous of every denomination, and lived in strict friendship with many worthy persons, from whom he differed in some religious sentiments. Among this number was Joseph Jacob and his truly virtuous wife; *these* were sensible of his worth; and my dear father's removal by death was justly esteemed by many, a public loss, he possessing qualifications for much usefulness. My dear mother was a virtuous woman, a pattern of patience, humility and resignation to the dispensations of Providence. She, with my dear father, experienced many seasons of adversity; she survived him many years, and died in sweet composure of mind, and no doubt is now at rest with the Lord.”

The following account of Mary Callender is extracted from a letter which the editor has received from the learned Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, late Professor in Harvard University, &c. &c.

“The sensible and pious *Mary Callender*, who became a public preacher in the Society of Friends, had the meek and quiet spirit of her father. Not long after her father's death, this offspring of a regularly ordained minister of the gospel, united herself with that religious Society. In Newport, there was a worthy, opulent, and very respectable member of that denomination of Christians,

named Joseph Jacob, advanced in life, who had four or five neat and well behaved negro domestics, bound together by duty, respect and gratitude ; a pleasant picture of patriarchal government, without fear and without reproach. But being all blacks, yet natives, it left the master and his wife alone in the parlor and garden ; when he invited Mary Callender to become their parlor companion, and she did so to mutual satisfaction, exhibiting a respectable picture of *father and daughter*, waited on by black female slaves, who wore the plain, neat garb of Quakers. The family was singular, and every thing very decorous, relatively respectable, and marked by humble wisdom. To see the negro women, with their black hoods and blue aprons, walking at a respectful distance behind their master to meeting, was not an unpleasant sight in those days. Friend Jacob himself was somewhat *unique* in his habits and manners. Easy in his circumstances, and intellectual in his tastes, he filled up his liberal leisure in watching the wind, his clock and his weather glasses. At that day, he was the only person on Rhode-Island who owned a thermometer. When very cold, or very warm, he was the oracle of the atmosphere, and of time-pieces ; for every one had recourse to him as the prime regulator ; and when passing along to meeting with his uniform step, people in his way consulted their clocks and watches, without speaking to him.

“This steady follower of George Fox, though a grave and rather silent man, had, it is presumed, no small gratification in being if not *Sir Oracle*, at least *Friend Oracle*. His house was the pattern of neatness, order and quiet, and a very proper residence for the nun-like Mary Callender ; and in this pleasant greenhouse grew up and prospered that fair lily of Quakerism, who sprang origin-

ally from a Baptist stock. She was not a *cactus grandiflorus*, but the modest *lily of the valley*, with qualities of the sensitive plant; and yet she thought it her duty to proclaim, in the most public parts of the city of Newport, a mission from heaven! I myself heard her in the open streets, call the people to repentance—exclaiming, “*Repent—repent! for the kingdom of heaven is at hand!*” She was accompanied by a grave man and woman, selected, if I mistake not, by the monthly meeting or elders. But she never raised a crowd of people around her. They rather shut their doors and windows, and considered it an *hallucination*, than a commission from heaven. They were pained, and lamented to see a tall, slender, well-looking woman, of middle age and respectable connections, suffering under a mistake. Some of the common people remarked, that had the commission come from heaven, the Lord would have given her a stronger voice and a bolder manner. I myself thought it a natural idea. Her second father by adoption, the wise and wary Joseph Jacob, had died a few years before, and left her alone, with no other guide than her own enthusiastic feelings operating on a feeble frame, and one would have supposed a timid disposition; for there was no wildness in her manner, or any thing like rant in her utterance. I have conjectured that this was the fine feeling of her pious father, divested of his correct judgment; who, had he lived, might have said to her, “Mary! be not righteous overmuch, neither be thou overwise; for why shouldst thou destroy thyself?”

“Does this character of the daughter throw any light on that of the father? My esteemed friend, Moses Brown, that chronicle of truth, must have known her and her friend Jacob. If it were judicious to give the characters



of Milton's two daughters, it cannot be too much out of the way to mention these particulars of the offspring of the Rev. John Callender.\*

“Henry Collins, a wealthy merchant and a man of taste, the Lorenzo de Medicis of Rhode-Island, caused a painting to be made of parson Callender, as well as some other divines, as Hitchcock, Clap, and Dean Berkeley. I conjecture that the portrait you mention is the very one that I often admired in the Collins collection.”†


\*The venerable Moses Brown died September 6, 1836, aged ninety-seven years, eleven months and fourteen days. He was a liberal benefactor of Brown University, of the Seminary belonging to the Friends, erected in Providence in 1818, and of various benevolent institutions. He was a man of vigorous intellect, of sterling integrity, of simple manners, and of unfeigned piety. In his old age he enjoyed an unusual share of health, and the powers of his mind were very little impaired. At the time of his decease he was one of the Vice Presidents of the Rhode-Island Historical Society.

† This fine original portrait, supposed to have been executed by Smibert, is now in the possession of Henry Bull, Esq., of Newport.

CALLENDER'S

HISTORICAL DISCOURSE.

NOTE.—In order to preserve entire the original form of Mr. Callender's **Historical Discourse**, the notes of the edition are all of them placed in the Appendix, except two or three which are intended to correct errors, into which the author had fallen with regard to dates, &c. The title page and dedication of the former edition are also retained.



AN  
HISTORICAL DISCOURSE,  
ON THE  
CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS AFFAIRS  
OF THE COLONY OF  
RHODE-ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS,  
IN NEW-ENGLAND, IN AMERICA,  
FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT, 1638, TO THE  
END OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

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BY JOHN CALLENDER, A. M.

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JOSHUA, xxii. 22.—The LORD God of Gods, the LORD God of Gods, he knoweth, and Israel shall know, if it be in rebellion, or in transgression against the Lord.

PSALMS, cxlv. 4.—One generation shall praise thy name to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts.

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in Queen-Street.—MDCCXXXIX.





## DEDICATION.

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TO THE HONORABLE

WILLIAM CODDINGTON, ESQ.

Sir—It is not barely to give you a public testimony of my gratitude for many personal favors, nor yet of that esteem and respect which all men bear you, for your singular equity and benevolence, not only in private life, but in all the various offices, in which you have served and adorned your country ; that I prefix your name to these papers: but because an attempt to recover some account of this happy Island, and to make a religious improvement of the merciful providences of God towards it, is justly due to the lineal representative of that worthy gentleman, who was the great instrument of its original settlement.

Your honored grandfather, William Coddington, Esq., was chosen in *England* to be an *Assistant* of the Colony of the *Massachusetts Bay*, A. D. 1629, and in 1630 came over to *New-England* with the

Governor and the Charter, &c., after which he was several times rechosen to that honorable and important office. He was for some time treasurer of the Colony. He was with the chiefest in all public charges, "and a principal merchant in Boston," where he built the first brick house.

In the year 1637, when the contentions ran so high in the country, he was grieved at the proceedings of the Court against Mr. Wheelwright and others. And when he found that his opposition to those measures was ineffectual, he entered his protest, "that his dissent might appear to succeeding times;" and though he was in the fairest way to be great, in the *Massachusetts*, as to outward things, yet he voluntarily quitted his advantageous situation at *Boston*, his large property and his improvements at *Braintree*, for peace sake, and that he might befriend, protect, and assist the pious people, who were meditating a removal from that Colony, on account of their religious differences.

Here, when the people first incorporated themselves a body politic on this Island, they chose him to be their judge or chief ruler, and continued to elect him annually to be their Governor for seven

years together, till the Patent took place, and the Island was incorporated with *Providence Plantations*.

In the year 1647, he assisted in forming the body of laws, which has been the basis of our constitution and government ever since; and the next year being chosen Governor of the Colony, declined the office.

In 1651, he had a commission from the supreme authority then in *England*, to be Governor of the Island, pursuant to a power reserved in the *Patent*: but the people being jealous "the commission might affect their lands and liberties as secured to them by the Patent," he readily laid it down on the first notice from *England* that he might do so; and for their further satisfaction and contentment, he, by a writing under his hand, obliged himself to make a formal surrender of all right and title to any of the lands, more than his proportion in common with the other inhabitants, whenever it should be demanded.

After that, he seems to have retired much from public business, till toward the latter end of his days, when he was again divers times prevailed

with to take the government upon him ; as he did particularly 1678, when he died November 1, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, *a good man, full of days*. Thus, after he had the honor to be the first judge and Governor of this Island, “after he had spent much of his estate and the prime of his life in propagating plantations,” he died Governor of the Colony—in promoting the welfare and the prosperity of the little commonwealth, which he had in a manner founded.

If there was any opposition at any time to any of his measures, or if he met with any ungrateful returns from any he had served, it was no more than what several of the other first excellent Governors of the other *New English* colonies met with, from a people made froward by the circumstances of a wilderness, and over-jealous of their privileges. A free people will always be jealous of their privileges, and history abounds with examples of the mistakes and ingratitude occasioned by that jealousy.

If the following Discourse has done any justice to the memory and character of the pious people who first settled this Colony, or if it has any tendency to promote the true original ends of this

Plantation, I am sure of your patronage. And as to what relates to some articles, different from your judgment and practice in religious matters, the generosity and candor you inherit from your great ancestors, will easily bear with me, endeavoring to vindicate my own opinions on such an occasion.

I hope there are few or no errors in the matters of fact related, or the dates that are assigned; to prevent any mistakes, I have carefully reviewed the public records, and my other materials; this review has brought to my knowledge or remembrance, many things that were not mentioned in the pulpit, which however it seemed ought not to be omitted.

I designed to have put all the additions and enlargements, in the form of notes, for my own ease, but have been persuaded to weave as many of them as were proper into the body of the Discourse, as what is generally most pleasing to the reader. I am very sensible, several things will be thought too minute or personal by strangers, but the descendants of the persons concerned, and the inhabitants of the Colony, will readily pardon me.

And some other things which are familiarly known among ourselves, will be necessary to others.

It is much to be lamented that many valuable manuscripts of some of the first settlers here, are so soon embezzled and lost. And it is much to be wished, that some gentlemen of ingenuity and leisure, would take pains to collect as many of these old papers as can be found dispersed about. I am apt to think, that these, with the public records, would furnish materials for a *just history* of the Colony.

What is here presented to your view, will by no means supersede such a design; I rather hope it will stimulate gentlemen in every part of the Colony, to make a search after such papers, and more especially *now*, while the *New-England Chronology* is in hand, composing by a gentleman, above all exceptions universally acknowledged the best versed in the history of the country, and the most capable to give the world a just and clear idea of all our civil and religious affairs, and *who is* already so well furnished with materials from every other part of the country.



That the Most High would be pleased to bless you with all the blessings of grace and providence, together with your pious lady and numerous offspring, is the prayer of

Your Honor's most obliged

humble servant,

JOHN CALLENDER.

Newport, on Rhode-Island, Oct. 27, 1738.



## AN HISTORICAL DISCOURSE, &c.

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PSALMS, LXXVII. 10, 11, 12.

I will remember the years of the right hand of the Most High. I will remember the work of the Lord, surely I will remember thy wonders of old, I will meditate also of all thy work, and talk of thy doings.

As it is now more than a century, since the lands within the present patent, or charter of this Colony, began to be settled by Englishmen, and inhabited by Christians, our ancestors; and as this day is just an hundred years since the Indian Sachems, *Miantonomy*\* and the ancient *Canonicus*, his uncle and guardian, signed the grant of this Island, to Mr. Coddington and his friends united with him; and as Mr. John Clark, the founder under God, and the first elder of this Church, and its liberal benefactor, was a principal instrument in negotiating the purchase and settlement of the

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\*The name of this Sachem is usually spelt in the printed books, Miantonimoh, but in all the manuscripts, Myantonomy, or Miantonome, or Miantonomu, and the name is so pronounced by the people who take the sound by tradition, and not from the books, with the accent on the last syllable but one.

Island, as he was likewise afterward, in obtaining and maintaining the old patent, and procuring the present charter; I thought it would be but proper to defer our Lecture, which in course fell out on yesterday, to this time; and now I propose to lay before you, such an account as I have been able to collect, of the occasion and the manner of our first settlement, together with a short view of the civil and religious history, and the present state of the Colony. And then to entertain you with such reflections as the subject will suggest, and such remarks as may serve to dispose and assist us, to a religious improvement of those memorable occurrences.

I confess the account I have been able to collect is very lame and imperfect, and for that reason I should have laid aside the design, if I had not thought it in reality a duty, to recollect and review so much as we can of the merciful providence of God, in the settling and preserving this Colony; and that we ought to remember the years of the right hand of the Most High, the works of the Lord, and the wonders of old, to meditate of his work, and talk of his doings.

And here, in order to lay before you some account of the occasion and manner of our first settlement, and the conduct of Divine Providence towards us ever since, it may be proper, previously to mention a few things relating to the settlement of New-England in general.

And that we may take things from the beginning, be pleased to observe that October 12, 1492,\* this part of the world since called America, before that wholly unknown to the rest, was first discovered by Christopher Columbus, a Genoese, in the service of the king of Spain. The Pope soon after, generously bestowed the new world on the Spaniards; they made many successful voyages, and many great conquests and settlements in the southern parts of the new found world. Their success and the immense riches they carried home to Europe, did, in process of time, excite other nations to put in for a share with them. Among the rest the English (who had narrowly missed the advantages of the first discovery) besides their enterprises on the Spaniards, made many successive attempts to discover and settle in North America.

In 1578 or 1579, there was a patent granted by Queen Elizabeth for six years to Sir H. Gilbert, to

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\* Where several writers give the same account, 'tis needless to quote any one in particular, as 'tis also, where the account is taken from a comparison of many authors, with one another. However, I have followed the dates in the New-England Chronology, where the most material facts are collected, and placed in the truest light, and the dates fixed with the greatest accuracy and exactness. The reader will observe many expressions marked “ ”; these are the very words of the authorities I follow, and which I choose to make use of as often as conveniently might be.

plant and inhabit some northern parts of America, unpossessed by any Prince with whom she had any alliance.

March 25, 1584, Queen Elizabeth granted to Sir W. Raleigh a patent for foreign parts not possessed by any Christian Prince. And the same year, he took possession of the country to the westward of Roanoke, and called it Virginia, in honor of his mistress. He sent three several colonies to settle in those parts, who all failed. As did Capt. Gosnold, in a like attempt to settle in what is since called New-England, which he first discovered in 1602. And several other attempts met with the like ill success.

April 10, 1606, King James divided Virginia into two colonies, which were called South and North, the first between 34 and 41 degrees north, and the last between 38 and 45, and they were not to settle within an hundred miles of one another. By 1611, the Southern or London company, had made an effectual settlement; while the Northern or Plymouth company were almost discouraged at their repeated disappointments. However, Judge Popham, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and others, continued their attempts and their designs, till Divine Providence began a settlement within their jurisdiction, without their knowledge or contrivance.

It is acknowledged, on all hands, the first settle-



ments of New-England were a consequence of the disputes which attended the Reformation in England; and therefore we must observe, that during this time, viz. 1517, learning having revived all over Europe, the Reformation was begun by Luther, and others in Germany, and carried on in several parts of Christendom, particularly in England, where, after a long struggle, it was finally established, by act of Parliament, under Queen Elizabeth, who began to reign November 17, 1558.

As the whole Christian religion had been corrupted and disfigured by the inventions and impositions of Popery, in a long course of time, it is so far from being to be wondered at, that it could not but be expected that many, who were justly and equally offended, at the horrid corruptions of Popery, should yet be unable entirely to agree in their sentiments, of what things were to be reformed, or how far they should carry the Reformation at the first. And yet this was every where a great and unhappy *remora* to that glorious work, and gave their enemies a very considerable advantage, which they well knew how, and failed not to improve to the utmost.

The effects of these divisions, and the animosities with which they were maintained, were felt in England, not only in the beginning of the Reformation, but after it was established, and even ever since to this day. Among the Reformers in Queen

Elizabeth's reign (many of whom had been exiles in Queen Mary's persecution, and so had more opportunities to see and converse with the foreign Protestants) there were many who sought to carry the Reformation, farther in some points than had been done in King Edward's time. They sought to take away every thing they imagined had the color of superstition, and to make the Bible their real rule in worship and discipline, as well as in faith. These were presently called Puritans, as pretending to seek a purer church state and a farther reformation than the other party thought was necessary or expedient.

Those had not the same exceptions to many things the Puritans scrupled; and beside, thought it was but good policy to make as few and as little changes and alterations as possible, especially in the ceremonies, which most powerfully affect the vulgar, in order to draw in the bulk of the clergy and the nation to favor the other alterations, which all of them esteemed to be of the most importance. And the Queen zealously espousing this party, turned the balance in their favor; and accordingly for some years the whole nation, in effect, came to church, though the times were far from being settled.

The Puritans, it seems, had few or no objections to the articles of faith, but they chiefly objected against the liturgy, the ceremonies, and the con-

stitution and discipline. But, however, they were not perfectly agreed among themselves; while the much larger part of them, fathers of those since called Presbyterians, generally strove to keep their places in the church, without conforming to some of the most offensive ceremonies, and by voluntary agreement among themselves, sought to remedy, and supply what they thought was amiss or wanting, in the parliamentary establishment; others of them, fathers of those since called Independents and Congregationalists, separated wholly from the public worship, in the parish churches, and sought a thorough alteration in the whole form and constitution of the church, and to lay aside the liturgy and all the ceremonies together.

Queen Elizabeth kept a watchful and jealous eye over them all, as fearing, and being determined against all farther alterations in religious matters. And subscription and conformity, being at times pressed harder, as the friends to the Puritans were out of power, some of them, especially of those called Separatists, had been driven out of England, and at length there was a church of the independent scheme, formed at Amsterdam, in Holland. In the reign of King James, (whom the Puritans expected to be a patron to them, as he had been educated in Scotland, and had openly censured the Church of England,) those things which offended them, were carried with an higher hand. In the years 1608, and 1609, several more of them in the north

of England, removed to Holland, and a number of them settled at Leyden under the pastoral care of Mr. John Robinson, (afterwards the father of Plymouth colony,) in hopes to enjoy that liberty of their consciences, in a strange land, they were denied at home.

Here they continued eleven or twelve years, till, for many reasons, they began to meditate a removal, and chose to seek an asylum somewhere in North America, near Hudson's river. They had a long and tedious treaty with the southern or Virginia Company, who might reasonably expect greater sobriety, patience and industry, from a people of such a character, and in such circumstances, and who had such views and designs of their own, than they had found in such other people as they could prevail on to transport themselves into a wilderness. However, the factions and disturbances in the Company, and other causes, delayed the affairs for some time, till 1619, in the fall, they obtained a Patent for the land, but they could not obtain a legal assurance of the liberty of their consciences. However, they determined at length to remove, depending on some general promises of connivance, if they behaved themselves peaceably, and hoping that the distance and remoteness of the place, as well as the public service they should do the King and Kingdom, would prevent their being disturbed.

After encountering many difficulties and discouragements, from the nature and circumstances of their voyage, and from the treachery of some of the undertakers, they arrived at Cape Cod, on the 9th of November, 1620. Here they found their Patent useless, this place being within the bounds of the New-England or Plymouth Company; and yet necessity obliged them to set down thereabout. They did, therefore, two days after, incorporate themselves a body politic, and having made such a search of the adjacent country as their circumstances would allow, at that time of the year, they began their settlement, about Christmas, at a place called by the Indians, Patuxet; by them named New Plymouth. Infinite, almost, were the hardships and distresses of the ensuing winter, in which near half the Company died for want of necessaries. However, through the merciful providence of God, they maintained their ground, and through many difficulties, which they overcame by patience and the divine blessing, they increased to three hundred souls in nine years after, when they obtained a Patent from the New-England Company, the 13th of January, 1629—30.

In that period, there had been many unsuccessful attempts to make settlements in New-England, for the sake of trade and husbandry only, as if Divine Providence had reserved the place for those who soon after took possession of it. The success of



the Plymouth planters began to excite the Puritans, all over England, to meditate a removal to those parts of the world, in order to enjoy the liberty of worshipping God according to their consciences. There was no ground at all left them to hope for any condescension or indulgence to their scruples, but uniformity was pressed with harder measures than ever. A great part of the nation was alarmed with the apprehensions of Arminianism, and that even Popery itself was approaching; yea, the civil affairs, and the peace of the nation, began to be embroiled and interrupted by the false politics and bad counsels of the unhappy Prince on the throne; so that New-England began to be looked on by them as a place of refuge; and it is said, that some who proved principal actors in the changes and events that followed, had even determined to transport themselves here, had they not been unaccountably restrained by authority. This is certain, the same principles in some persons, which had rendered their stay uneasy at home, and which at first refused them a legal toleration in the wilds of América, made their leaving the Kingdom as difficult as possible. Whereas, could good policy have prevailed over bigotry, it would have appeared a good expedient for them, thus to clear the Kingdom of the disaffected and nonconformists, and with them make such an effectual plantation, as promised a great addition to the trade and riches, and power of the Kingdom, and greatly enlarged its territory.



Mr. White, of Dorchester, the father of the Massachusetts Colony, encouraged Mr. R. Conant, who had, on disgust, removed from Plymouth to Nantasket, to continue in the country, with the promise of men, and all things necessary for another plantation. Whereupon, this gentleman, 1625, removed to Cape Ann, and the next year to Naumkeak, since called Salem. March 19, 1627—8, the Council for New-England signed the Massachusetts Patent, and March 4, 1628—9, the King confirms it by a charter which included liberty of conscience. The nonconformists, so called, are busily employed about their intended expedition. In 1628, they send Mr. Endicot, with some people, to begin and prepare the way for them, and the next year they send Mr. Higginson and many more; and, 1630, Governor Winthorp, Deputy Governor Dudley, with the Assistants, the Charter, and fifteen hundred people, and all necessaries, came over and made effectual settlements at Charlestown, Watertown, Dorchester, Boston, &c.; and more of their friends coming over to them, in the following years, the new settlements increased and prospered, notwithstanding the many difficulties and hardships which must necessarily attend the planting such a remote wilderness.

As the country was more fully discovered, the lands on Connecticut river grew so famous for their fruitfulness, and convenience to keep cattle, that great numbers from New-Town, Dorchester, &c.,

removed there, under the conduct of Mr. Hains, Mr. Hopkins, Mr. Ludlow, and Mr. Hooker, &c., and through inexpressible hardships, through famine, and weariness, and perils of the enemy, they at length settled at Hartford, 1635 and 1636, which was the beginning of Connecticut colony; and, in 1637, New-Haven colony was begun by a people directly from England, under the leading of Mr. Eaton, and Mr. Davenport, &c. Thus the four grand colonies of New-England were begun in a few years, and some faint attempts likewise made to settle in the eastward parts, in the province of Maine, &c., for the sake of trade and fishery, and by some of the people who afterwards came here. Which brings me to the more immediate occasion of the settlement of this Colony, and the manner in which it was brought about and accomplished. It is allowed, by all sides, the religious differences among the first settlers of the Massachusetts Colony, gave rise to this Colony, and the settling of this Island.

Almost all the first settlers of New-England were Puritans. The people at Plymouth were generally of that sort called Separatists, and those of Boston generally had lived in the communion of the Church of England, though they scrupled conforming to some of the ceremonies. But these being come to so great a distance from the Bishops' power, could well enough agree in the same forms of worship, and method of discipline with the church

at Plymouth, and a mixed form of church government was generally set up. Though they had seemed well enough united, by the common zeal against the ceremonies, yet now they were removed from the ecclesiastical courts, with a patent which gave them liberty of conscience, a variety of opinions as to several points, before not so much regarded, and perhaps not thought of, now began to be visible, and operate with considerable effects. It is no wonder such differences in opinion arose among them, as had been the case before among the Protestants in general. It was the avowed opinion of some among them of chiefest note and authority, (Mr. Hooker,) "that there were two great reserves for inquiry in that age of the world: first, wherein the spiritual rule of our Lord's kingdom doth consist, and after what manner it is revealed, managed and maintained in the souls of his people; the second, after what order the government of our Lord's kingdom is to be externally managed and maintained in his church."—*Magnalia B.* 3. p. 66.

Notwithstanding which, the chief leaders, and the major part of the people, soon discovered themselves as fond of uniformity, and as loath to allow liberty of conscience to such as differed from themselves, as those from whose power they had fled. Notwithstanding all their sufferings and complaints in England, they seemed incapable of mutual forbearance; perhaps they were afraid of provoking

the higher powers at home, if they countenanced other sects; and perhaps those who differed from them took the more freedom, in venting and pressing their peculiar opinions, from the safety and protection they expected, under a charter that had granted liberty of conscience.

In reality, the true grounds of liberty of conscience were not then known, or embraced by any sect or party of Christians; all parties seemed to think that as they only were in the possession of the truth, so they alone had a right to restrain, and crush all other opinions, which they respectively called error and heresy, where they were the most numerous and powerful; and in other places they pleaded a title to liberty and freedom of their consciences. And yet, at the same time, all would disclaim persecution for conscience sake, which has something in it so unjust and absurd, so cruel and impious, that all men are ashamed of the least imputation of it. A pretence of the public peace, the preservation of the Church of Christ from infection, and the obstinacy of the heretics, are always made use of, to excuse and justify that, which, stripped of all disguises, and called by its true name, the light of nature, and the laws of Christ Jesus condemn and forbid, in the most plain and solemn manner. Mr. R. Williams and Mr. J. Clark, two fathers of this Colony, appear among the first who publicly avowed that Jesus Christ is king in his own kingdom, and that no others had authority over his

subjects, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation. So that it was not singular or peculiar in those people at the Massachusetts, to think themselves bound in conscience to use the sword of the civil magistrate to open the understandings of heretics, or cut them off from the State, that they might not infect the church or injure the public peace. These were not the only people who thought they were doing God good service, when smiting their brethren and fellow-servants. All other christian sects acted generally, as if they thought this was the very best service they could do to God, and the most effectual way to promote the gospel of peace, and prove themselves the true and genuine disciples of Jesus Christ—of Jesus Christ, who hath declared, his kingdom was not of this world, who had commanded his disciples to call no man master on earth, who had forbidden them to exercise lordship over each other's consciences, who had required them to let the tares grow with the wheat till the harvest, and who had, in fine, given mutual love, peace, long-suffering, and kindness, as the badge and mark of his religion.

Mr. Roger Williams, a minister, who came over to Salem, 1630, had, on a disgust, removed to Plymouth, where he was an assistant to their minister, Mr. Smith, for two years. And being disgusted likewise at Plymouth, returned back to Salem, where he was chosen by the people to succeed Mr. Skelton, in 1634. The magistrates opposed



his settlement there, as they had done before. They made great objections to his principles, and it is said some wordly things helped to increase the animosities that soon prevailed against him; though Mr. Williams appears, by the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct here, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly minded soul. He was charged with holding it "unlawful for an unregenerate man to pray, or a regenerate man to pray with him;" "that it was unlawful for the magistrate to meddle with the breaches of the first table;" and that he insisted on an unlimited toleration, or liberty of conscience; from whence they inferred him an advocate for licentiousness, which the good man's soul abhorred, "and ever disclaimed." However, on these accounts, and for teaching the Patent was sinful, (in what sense and how truly is very obvious,) for opposing the oath of fidelity, (not out of disloyalty to the King, but on account of the nature of an oath, which he thought, as a sacred thing, ought not to be forced on all men promiscuously, whether in a state of grace or nature,) "and for separating from, and renouncing communion with all the churches in the land, and even with his own, for not joining with him therein;"—for these things, he was at length banished the Colony, as a disturber of the peace of the church and commonwealth; and, as he says, "a bull of excommunication was sent after him in his absence."



He came away to *Secunke*, since called Rehoboth, where he procured a grant of lands, from Ousamequin, or Massasoiet, the chief Sachem of Pokanokik. But being desired to remove from thence, which was within the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth, "he had several treaties with Myantonomy and Canonicus, the *Nantygansick*, or Narraganset Sachems, in the years 1634 and 1635, who assured him he should not want for land for a settlement;" Divine Providence giving him wonderfully great favor in the eyes of the Sachems. And in the spring of the year 1634-5,\* he came over the river to a place called by the Indians Mooshausick, and by him named Providence, "in a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress." And several of his friends following him, they planted there. The authority and power of Miantonomy awed all the Indians round, to assist and succor these few feeble and helpless Englishmen, thus cast out by their brethren, in a strange land. However, we must (to be impartial) own that their being Englishmen, was a real security and protection to

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\* Here is an error of one year. It was in the spring of 1635-6, or what would now be called 1636, that Roger Williams came over Seekonk River, and settled at Mooshausick or Providence. The precise day or month cannot be ascertained. The earliest record of his being here is under date of July 26, 1636, O. S. See Knowles' *Memoir of Roger Williams*, p. 101-105. *Savage's Winthrop*, vol. 1, p. 193.—*Editor*.

them, unless the Indians had designed a general war. The English at Massachusetts employed Mr. Williams to make a league offensive and defensive with the Narraganset Indians, in the Pequot war, which followed in 1637. And the Indian Sachems, in one of their confirmations of the grants of lands to him,\* express their gratitude, "for the many kindnesses and services he had continually done for them, both with their friends at Massachusetts, as also at Qunniticut, and Apaum or Plymouth." Mr. Williams also maintained a loving correspondence with many of his old friends to the last, and was esteemed and valued by many of them; though he ever opposed, and that in print, once and again, what he called the *bloody tenent*, i. e. every kind and degree of persecution for conscience sake. The hardships and distresses of these poor exiles, are hardly to be conceived by the present generation, who, through the divine goodness, have never seen any thing like what they cheerfully endured. But Divine Providence, in which they trusted, supported them, and provided for them in their greatest straits, and wonderfully blessed their honest industry, so that in a few years they had plenty of all things necessary to their subsistence and comfort.

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\* The said writing is dated Nanhygansick, the 24th of the first month, commonly called March, the second year of our Plantation, or planting at Mooshasick or Providence.

The banishment of Mr. Williams, and the voluntary exile of many of his adherents, did not put an end to the unhappy divisions and contentions in the Massachusetts. Mr. Hains, the Governor, in 1635, did with great difficulty still and quiet the storm for the present, in the beginning of his administration; but Mr., afterwards Sir Henry Vane, jun., arriving at Boston that summer, and zealously falling in with the opinions of one party, he was by them persuaded to tarry there, (though designed for Connecticut river,) and was the next year, 1636, chosen Governor; and then the animosities and contentions were carried to a very great height; one side reproaching the other, as *Legalists* and under a covenant of works, &c., and the others calling them *Familists*, *Antinomians*, &c. The next year, Mr. Winthrop being rechosen Governor, with a great struggle, he strenuously exerted himself to crush and exterminate the opinions he disapproved. A synod was called for that end at New-Town, (since named Cambridge,) on the 30th of August, where eighty erroneous opinions were presented, debated, and condemned; and a court held on the 2d of October following, at the same place, banished a few of the chief persons, among those who were aspersed with those errors; and censured several that had been the most active, not, it seems, for their holding those opinions, but for their pretended seditious carriage and behavior; and the church at Boston likewise excom-

municated at least one of her members, not for those opinions, but for denying they ever held them, and the behavior which these heats occasioned; and some of these, with their friends and followers, came to this Island.

Notwithstanding such a formidable number of errors, produced at the synod, that which these people differed in from the others, was chiefly this, as Mr. John Clark has briefly represented it, viz: "Touching the covenants and in point of evidencing a man's good estate. Some (says he) pressed hard for the covenant of works, and for sanctification to be the first and chief evidence; others (he means himself and those who came here) pressed as hard for the covenant of grace, that was established on better promises, and for the evidence of the spirit, as that which is a more sure, constant, and satisfactory witness." (*Clark's Narrative Introd.*) This account is agreeable to what there is in those books wrote on the other side, I have had the opportunity to consult; only they must be allowed to express, in their own way, their own sentiments of the opinions of the other side, and they add such shades as darken and disfigure the opinions of the opposite party, and set off their own to the best advantage.

Dr. Mather thus describes the five questions debated between the synod and Mr. Cotton, (which

were the same points about which all the divisions first began;) they were “about the order of things in our union to our Lord Jesus Christ, about the influence of our faith in the application of his righteousness, about the use of our sanctification in evidencing our justification, and about the consideration of our Lord Jesus Christ, by men, yet under a covenant of works; briefly, they were the points whereon depend the grounds of our assurance for blessedness in another and better world. *Mag. B.* 7, p. 17.

Mr. Neal says, “The Commonwealth was almost torn in pieces by intestine divisions, occasioned by the spreading Familistical and Antinomian errors among the people.” And from the writers before him, he gives the original of the controversy, to this purpose: “The members of the church at Boston used to meet once a week, to repeat the sermons they heard on the Lord’s Day, and to debate on the doctrines contained in them; those meetings being peculiar to the men, some of the zealous women thought it might be useful to them. One Mrs. Hutchinson, a gentlewoman of a bold and masculine spirit, and a great admirer of Mr. Cotton, set up one at her house. The novelty of the thing, and the fame of the woman, quickly gained her a numerous audience, and from these meetings arose all the errors that soon after overspread the country.” He says she taught that believers in Christ



are personally united to the spirit of God ; that commands to work out our salvation with fear and trembling, belong to none but such as are under the covenant of works ; that sanctification is not a good evidence of a good estate. She likewise set up immediate revelation about future events, to be believed as equally infallible with the scriptures ; and a great many other chimeras and fancies, which, (says he,) under a pretence of exalting the free grace of God, destroyed the practical part of religion, “ and opened a door to all sorts of licentiousness.” *Neal's Hist.* C. 5, p. 166.

I shall not enter into the merits of the cause ; there is neither time nor occasion for it, only, I must observe, how each side ascribed to the others, consequences they imagined followed from their opinions, which they did not see or own. And particularly the people who came here, have things laid to their charge, which they utterly denied and detested equally with their antagonists. So harshly did their adversaries judge of them, as even to involve in their opinions, or the consequences of them, a denial of the resurrection of the dead, and the life everlasting ; which totally subverts and destroys Christianity, and all religion at once, which necessarily implies a future state ; when yet the whole debate supposed the truth of Christianity, and the certainty of a future state ; and the main question was about the method in which they might



best obtain an assurance of their interest in, and their title to, the inheritance of the saints in light. The very first of the eighty errors to be tried in the synod, doth (as I remember) charge the denial of the immortality of the soul, as a consequence of the opinion, that the faculties of the soul are passive or quiescent in the work of conversion and regeneration ; when yet the synod themselves unanimously believed particular election and irresistible grace.

“The question was, by what evidence must a man proceed in taking to himself the comforts of his justification. The bigger part of the country laid the first and main stress of our comfortable evidence, on our sanctification ; but the opinionists (says Dr. Mather) were for another sort of evidence, as their chief, namely the spirit of God, by a powerful application of a promise, begetting in us, and revealing to us, a powerful assurance of our being justified.”  
*Mag. B. 7. p. 14.*

Now, as the Doctor adds, (even on this way of stating the question, or expressing the sentiments of those called opinionists, which they would be far from acquiescing in, as expressing their full and true opinion,) “the truth might easily have united both these opinions.” But as he goes on, “they carried the matter on to a very perilous door, opened to many errors and evils, yea, to threaten a subversion of the

peaceable order in government." But they deny and disclaim the consequences fixed on them, and justify their own opinion and conduct, and charge the other party with as fatal and mischievous consequences, and a conduct arbitrary and oppressive.

Besides the differences about those points, for which these people were charged with Antinomianism, what was called Familism was, perhaps, not a little offensive. Nay, their differences in opinion were worked up to almost a state quarrel at the last, as Arminianism had been in Holland, and Episcopacy was in England afterwards, and as the Reformation still is all over Europe. The public affairs of town and Colony were affected by these contentions, and the Governor and Assistants put in and out, as the one or the other side prevailed. The whole people unhappily run into factions and parties, in such a manner, as if contention and every evil work had not been evidences incontestible, that the wisdom from which they proceeded could not be from above. But so it is, where men differ about religion, their contentions are usually the most sharp, and carried on with the most irreligious heat and animosity : even though they differ about the smallest matters, or when, as was the case here, they differ from each other but in a very little.

A great part of the body of the people, and I am apt to think, at the first, the majority of the town

of Boston, were of the same side the question with those people who afterwards came here. It is certain, the synod and the court were both held at New-Town, because of the disaffection of the people of Boston. The deputies of the town, at least some of them, openly espoused that party. The town, at least many of them, petitioned in their favor. And Mr. Cotton, the chief oracle then of both town and country, was confidently believed by them to be of the opinion they contended for. To which I might add the number of the people in that town, that were censured at the court.

Those who came away, were most of them long esteemed as brethren of the church, and never censured by the church at all; nay, that church did long retain some particularities, as to the brethren's power in church affairs, and their liberty to exercise their gifts in private or family meetings, and as to the subjects of infant baptism. It is certain, Mr. Wheelwright, minister to a branch of that church, at a place since called Braintree, (where the town had some lands,) was eager and zealous against the covenant of works; and was banished by the court for what was then called sedition, by the same rule which will make every dissent from, or opposition to, a majority in any religious affairs, to be sedition, and an iniquity to be punished by the judge. The minor part must always be seditious, if it be sedition to defend their

own religious opinions, and endeavor to confute the contrary. This maxim, once allowed, must chain men down under errors and falsehoods wherever they prevail, and even rivet their chains. On this foot, what will become of the glorious martyrs for the gospel in the first ages of it, and the holy apostles, who turned the world upside down, who turned men from darkness to light, from the gods of the nations, whom they called vanities, to the living and true God? Nay, what shall we say of our blessed Saviour himself, who says he came to send division on earth? How shall we excuse the Protestants, nay, how shall we justify the Puritans themselves, if it be seditious to oppose any religious opinions we think are false or erroneous, when the major part of the society happen to think otherwise? I must farther add, that however Mr. Cotton, at the synod, after long labor with him, disowned many of the opinions charged on these people, yet he would not condemn all the said errors in the gross, as the rest did, and there is some reason to believe that he differed from the other ministers to the last, at least in the manner of explaining these most abstruse and difficult points; if he did not continue to hold, that "union to Christ was before faith in him, and that the habit of faith proceeded or followed from our justification," which it is said, he once seemed to hold in the synod; and which was in reality the root or fountain of all the opinions so much faulted in this people. And how-

ever Mr. Cotton has in print disowned them, and they are by others charged with falsehood and calumny, in shrouding themselves under the authority of his great name; yet they who should be owned to know their own opinions, and understand their own expressions and designs best, always persisted in it, that "Mr. Cotton was with them," or that they meant no more than they understood him to mean.

But to return. The affair was agitated in court for three days; and, some changing sides in the court, the majority was on the side of the synod, and took measures effectually to support their own opinions. Whereupon, many of the other side determined to remove, for peace sake, and to enjoy the freedom of their consciences. And Mr. John Clark, "who made the proposal, was requested, with some others, to seek out a place, and, thereupon, by reason of the suffocating heat of the summer before, he went north, to be somewhat cooler, but the winter following proving as cold, they were forced in the spring to make towards the south. So, having sought the Lord for direction, they agreed, that while their vessel was passing about a large and dangerous Cape, (Cape Cod,) they would cross over by land, having Long-Island and Delaware Bay in their eye, for the place of their residence. At Providence, Mr. R. Williams lovingly entertained them, and being consulted about



their design, readily presented two places before them in the Narraganset Bay, the one on the main called *Sow-wames*, (the neck since called Phebe's Neck, in Barrington,\*) and *Aquetneck*, now Rhode-Island." And inasmuch as they were determined to go out of every other jurisdiction, Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark, attended with two other persons, went to Plymouth to inquire how the case stood; they were lovingly received, and answered, that *Sowames* was the garden of their Patent. But they were advised to settle at *Aquetneck*, and promised to be looked on as free, and to be treated and assisted as loving neighbors. (*Mr. J. Clark's Nar.*) On their return, the 7th of March, 1637-8, the people, to the number of eighteen,† incorporated themselves a body politic, and chose Mr. Coddington their leader, to be the judge or chief

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\* Perhaps *Sowames* is properly the name of the river, where the two Swansey rivers meet and run together for near a mile, when they empty themselves in the Narraganset Bay, or of a small Island, where those two rivers meet, at the bottom of New Meadow Neck, so called.

† Their names are as follow, William Coddington, John Clark, William Hutchinson, John Coggeshall, William Aspinwall, Samuel Wilbore, John Porter, John Sanford, Edward Hutchinson, jun., Thomas Savage, William Dyre, William Freeborne, Philip Shearman, John Walker, Richard Carder, William Baulston, Edward Hutchinson, sen., Henry Bull.



magistrate. After the same manner, Plymouth and Connecticut Colonies were forced to enter into a voluntary agreement or covenant at the first, as having no legal authority amongst them; the people here, however, immediately sought a Patent, and in a few years obtained one.

Mr. R. Williams was very instrumental in procuring the Island of the Indian sachems, and has left this account in *perpetuam rei memoriam*. "It was not price or money that could have purchased Rhode-Island, but it was obtained by love, that love and favor which that honored gentleman, Sir Henry Vane, and myself, had with the great sachem Myantonomy, about the league which I procured, between the Massachusetts English and the Narragansets in the Pequot War. This I mention, that as the truly noble Sir Henry Vane hath been so great an instrument, in the hand of God, for procuring this Island of the barbarians, as also for the procuring and confirming the Charter, it may be with all thankful acknowledgments recorded, and remembered by us, and ours who reap the sweet fruits of so great benefits, and such unheard of liberties among us." (*MS. of R. W.*) And in another manuscript, he tells us the Indians were very shy and jealous of selling the lands to any, and chose rather to make a grant of them to such as they affected, but, at the same time, expected such gratuities and rewards as made an Indian *gift*

often times a very dear bargain. And the Colony, seventy years ago, 1666, averred, that though the favor Mr. Williams had with Myantonomy was the great means of procuring the grants of the land, yet the purchase had been dearer than of any lands in New-England; the reason of which might be, partly, the English inhabited between two powerful nations, the *Wampanoags* to the north and east, who had formerly possessed some part of their grants, before they had surrendered it to the Narragansets, and though they freely owned the submission, yet it was thought best by Mr. Williams, to make them easy by gratuities to the sachem, his counsellors and followers. On the other side, the Narragansets were very numerous, and the natives inhabiting any spot the English sat down upon, or improved, were all to be bought off to their content, and often times were to be paid over and over again.

On the 24th of March, 1637-8, this day an hundred years, the Indian sachems signed the deed or grant of the Island Aquetneck, &c., and the English not only honestly paid the mentioned gratuities to the sachems, but many more to the inhabitants to remove off, as appears by the receipts still extant. And afterwards, at a considerable expense, they purchased quit-claims of the heirs and successors of the sachems; besides, they were forced to buy, over again, several parts of the first

grant. So that they came very justly by the soil. And thus they describe themselves, twenty years after, in an address to the supreme authority in England, 1659: "This poor Colony (say they) mostly consists of a birth and breeding of the Most High. We being an outcast people, formerly from our mother nation, in the Bishops' days, and since from the rest of the New-English over zealous Colonies. Our whole frame, being much like the present frame and constitution of our dearest mother England; bearing with the several judgments and consciences of each other, in all the towns of the Colony; which our neighbor Colonies do not; and which is the only cause of their great offence against us."

The settlement began immediately at the eastward or northward end of the Island, (then called Pocasset,\*) round the cove, and the town was laid out at the spring. And many of their friends following them that summer, their number was so

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\* All our histories call the main land, over against the easterly end of the Island, where is now Tiverton, &c., by the name of Pocasset, and in the Indian grant to the first settlers, the same place seems to be called Powacassick. But it is as evident in our records, that the eastern end of the Island is called by the same name; perhaps if I may be indulged a conjecture, the name properly belonged to the strait in the river or bay, at the eastern end of the Island, where is now Howland's Ferry,

considerably increased that, the next spring, some of the heads, with others, came to the southern or western end of the Island. The Island was divided into two townships, the eastern part called Portsmouth, and the other Newport; and, 1644, they named the Island the *Isle of Rhodes*, or *Rhode-Island*. Thus began the settlement of this Island and Colony, and through the good hand of our God upon us, we have continued to this day. God has blessed and prospered the people in their labors, and preserved to them their privileges, for the sake of which they followed him into the wilderness.

And now, having seen something of the occasion and manner of our first settlement, let us take a short view of the history, and present state of the Colony.

And here, in the first place, as to the inhabiting the other lands, and erecting the other towns now within our bounds.—At the same time the Island

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and the lands on both sides might be called Pocasset, till the English name of Portsmouth for the easterly end of the Island prevailed, when the Indian name Pocasset might become confined to the main land, which was not settled by the English for many years after. It is certain, every remarkable strait, or fall in a river, had a name among the Indians, as well as every point of land in the Bay. A knowledge of the meaning of the Indian words, would decide all such disputes.

was inhabited, a number of the Providence people, Mr. Arnold, &c., sat down at Patuxet, a place adjoining, and within their grant. They were encouraged by the meadows on the river, which were every where an inducement to people to settle themselves, as they immediately furnished food for their cattle in the winter.

In 1642-3, on the 12th of January, *Shawomet*, or *Mishawomet*, since called Warwick, was purchased of Myantonomy; Pomham, the petty sachem, consenting to the sale or grant, though he afterwards denied it. The grant was made to Randal Holden, John Wickes, Samuel Gorton, John Greene, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, John Warner, Richard Carder, Samson Shotton, Robert Potter, William Woodeal.

Here it may be proper to take some notice of the religious opinions of Mr. Gorton, whose followers were called Gortonists, or Gortonians, holding some things peculiar to themselves, and different from all the other people in New-England.

He came to Rhode-Island in June, 1638, where he tarried till 1639-40; then he was, on some contentions, banished the Island. Thence he went to Providence, where many of the people growing uneasy at his planting and building at Patuxet, and complaining to the Massachusetts Government



in 1642, he was summoned to appear before their court, which he despised. But, however, he purchased this tract of the Indians, and removed there with his friends. But new complaints soon went to Boston from some of the English, and Pomham and Socononoko, petty sachems of the Indians, who it seems were willing to take advantage of the protection of the Massachusetts English, to revolt from their subjection to Myantonomy, as Massasoit had done before, by means of the Plymouth English. Hereupon, Mr. Gorton and his friends being summoned to court, he refused to obey, as out of the jurisdiction, both of Boston and Plymouth, who both sought to stretch their bounds, to have taken him in. The government at length sent up a company of armed men, who, after a fruitless treaty, made him and his friends prisoners, except a few who escaped by flight. They were carried to Boston, and after a trial in their court, condemned to be confined in a severe, and even a scandalous manner, in several towns, for the winter, and in the spring banished the Colony. They came to Rhode-Island, and fearing to be again troubled, the Massachusetts seeking a Patent of some of the Narraganset country, they procured an actual and solemn submission of the sachems to King Charles, on the 19th of August, 1644; and Messrs. Gorton, Greene, and Holden, went to England and obtained an order to be suffered peaceably to possess their purchase. And the lands forementioned, be-



ing incorporated in the Province\* of Providence Plantations, they returned and carried on their improvements, naming their purchase Warwick, in honor to the Earl of Warwick, who gave them his friendly protection.

What Mr. Gorton's religious opinions really were, is now as hard to tell, as it is to understand his most mysterious dialect, for there are sufficient reasons why we ought not and cannot believe, he held all that are confidently fathered upon him. For it is certain, that, whatever impious opinions his adversaries imputed to him, and whatever horrid consequences they drew from the opinions he owned, he ascribed as bad to them, and fixed as dreadful consequences on their tenets; and at the same time, in the most solemn manner, denies and disavows many things they charge him with; above all, when he is charged with denying a future state and the judgment to come, both in theory and in practice, he peremptorily and vehemently denies the charge, and solemnly appeals to God, and all that knew him, of the integrity of his heart and the purity of his hands; and avers, that he always joins eternity with religion, as most essential. And that the doctrine of the general salvationists, was the

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\* They sometimes called themselves the Colony, sometimes the Province of Providence Plantations, and sometimes the Colony or Province.

thing which his soul hated. (*MS. letter in ans. to Mr. Morton's Memorial.*)

In an address to King Charles II., 1679, he disowns the Puritans, and most unaccountably says, he sucked in his peculiar tenets "from the breasts of his mother, the church of England." He strenuously opposed the doctrines of the people called Quakers. I am informed that he and his followers maintained a religious meeting, on the first day of the week, for above sixty years, and that their worship consisted of prayers to God, of preaching, or expounding the scriptures, and singing of psalms. He lived to a great age. He was of a good family in England, and says he made use of the learned languages in expounding the scriptures to his hearers.

About 1642-3, there were two trading houses set up in the Narraganset country; one by Mr. Wilcox and Mr. R. Williams, the other by Mr. Richard Smith, and some few plantations made near them, on particular grants or purchases of the Indians, but not very many till 1657: when several gentlemen on the Island and elsewhere, made a considerable purchase, called the Petaquamscut purchase. And the same year, there was a purchase of the Island of Canonicut, as the smaller Islands had been purchased before.

In 1665, Misquamicut was purchased of the Indians, and it was granted a township by the name of Westerly, 1669. In 1672, Manisses, called Block-Island, was made a township, by the name of New-Shoreham. In 1674, the inhabitants at Petaquamscut and parts adjacent, had their lands incorporated a township by the name of Kingston. And, in 1677, the town of East-Greenwich was incorporated, and, 1678, Canonicut Island, or rather Quononoquot, was incorporated a township by the name of James-Town. In 1722, the lands properly called Narraganset, were divided into the two townships of North and South Kingston. In 1729, the whole Colony was divided into three counties, for the ease of the inhabitants. And, 1730, the town of Providence was divided into the four towns of Providence, Smithfield, Glocester, and Scituate; the whole land being filled with inhabitants, partly by the coming in of some few from other places, but chiefly by the natural increase of the first settlers.\* In the foresaid year 1730, there was by the King's order, an exact account taken of the number of souls in the Colony,† and they were

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\* In 1738, the town of Westerly is divided, and the easterly part of it erected into a township, by the name of Charlestown, which may be to the honor of King Charles II., who granted us our present Charter.

† The said account was taken before Providence township was divided. The whole account is this :

found to be no less than seventeen thousand nine hundred and thirty-five, of which no more than nine hundred and eighty-five were Indians, and one thousand six hundred and forty-eight negroes. So that the English in all were fifteen thousand three hundred and two.

Some of the principal persons who came at first to this Island, removed again in a little time, some to Long-Island for larger accommodations, some to Massachusetts again, where three\* of those families have made a very considerable figure ever since to this day. A considerable number, likewise, removed to the other towns in this Colony, and many settled in the parts adjacent, that are within the Colony of Plymouth. Nevertheless, in 1730, the inhabitants of the whole Island were five

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	Whites.	Negroes.	Indians.
Newport,	3843	649	148
Providence,	3707	128	81
Portsmouth,	643	100	70
Warwick,	1028	77	73
Westerly,	1620	56	250
North-Kingston,	1875	165	65
South-Kingston,	965	333	225
East-Greenwich,	1149	40	34
Jamestown,	222	80	19
New-Shoreham,	250	20	20
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	15302	1648	985

\* Hutchinson, Dummer, Savage.

thousand four hundred and fifty-eight, and of this town four thousand six hundred and forty, who are no doubt by this time increased to five thousand souls. The trade and business of the town at the first, was but very little and inconsiderable, consisting only of a little corn, and pork and tobacco, sent to Boston for a few European and other goods they could not subsist without, and all at the mercy of the traders there, too.\* At present, there are above one hundred sail of vessels belonging to this town, besides what belong to the rest of the Colony. God grant, that as we increase in numbers and riches, we may not increase in sin and wickedness; but that we may rather be led, by the divine goodness, to reform whatever may have been amiss or wanting among us.

As to the forms of government we have passed under, it must be observed, the government has been always more or less democratical. At the

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\* Perhaps it may be agreeable to some persons to observe, that about 1660, and many years after, provision pay was one hundred per cent beneath sterling money. In 1687, the prices of goods set to pay taxes in, were, wool eight pence per pound, butter four pence, Indian Corn one shilling and six pence per bushel. If the tax was paid in money, then there was to be an allowance or abatement of one-sixth part, and that perhaps will nearly give the true current price of those kinds of provisions, at that time.



first incorporation on the Island, the people chose a Judge to do justice and judgment, and preserve the public peace; and towards the latter end of the year, on the second day of the eleventh month, they added three gentlemen as Assistants to him in his office.\* And soon after appointed all, to take the oath of allegiance to the King, according to the statute. In 1640, they voted the chief magistrate should be called Governor, the next Deputy Governor, and four gentlemen chosen out of the two towns, Assistants. Their names were W. Coddington, Governor; W. Brenton, Deputy Governor; N. Easton, J. Coggeshall, W. Hutchinson, J. Porter, Assistants. The next year, R. Harding was in Mr. Easton's place, and Mr. W. Baulston in the room of Mr. Hutchinson, (who perhaps removed,) and the next year Mr. Easton was chosen Assistant again, and those six† gentlemen held their offices till the patent of incorporation.

At Providence, all new comers promised "to submit themselves in active or passive obedience to all such orders and agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by

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\* The three elders were Nicholas Easton, John Coggeshall, and William Brenton.

† The six gentlemen were W. Coddington, Governor, W. Brenton, Deputy Governor, N. Easton, J. Coggeshall, W. Baulston, and J. Porter, Assistants.

major consent of the inhabitants,"\* but this being insufficient, 27th day 5th mo., 1640, they did, to the number of near forty persons, combine in a form of civil government, according to a model drawn up by some of themselves, as most suitable to promote peace and order in their present circumstances; which, however, left them in a very feeble condition.

But all the inhabitants in the Narraganset-Bay, being without a patent and any legal authority, 1643, Mr. R. Williams went to England as agent, and, by the help and assistance of Sir Henry Vane, jun., obtained of the Earl of Warwick (appointed by Parliament Governor and Admiral of all the Plantations) and his council, "a free and absolute

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\* The first twelve persons who came to Mr. Williams, and therefore had, by virtue of his conveyance, some prerogative with him, in the divisions, &c., of the land, were William Arnold, John Greene, John Throgmorton, Thomas James, William Harris, Thomas Olney, Richard Waterman, Francis Weston, Ezekiel Holliman, Robert Cole, Stukeley Westcoat, and William Carpenter. Soon after came to them Chad Browne, Wm. Fairfield, J. Warner, E. Angel,† J. Windsor, R. Scott, Wm. Reinolds, Wm. Wickenden, Gregory Dexter, &c. &c., most of whose names remain in a numerous posterity.

† Callender, who is remarkable for his accuracy, here mistakes the Christian name. It should be Thomas Angel. See Backus, vol. 1, p. 74, note.—*Editor*.

Charter of civil incorporation, by the name of the incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narraganset-Bay in New-England ;” empowering them “ to rule themselves, and such as should inhabit within their bounds, by such a form of civil government as by the voluntary agreement of all, or the greater part, shall be found most serviceable, in their estate and condition; and to make suitable laws, agreeable to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of the place will admit, &c.” It was dated 17th of March, 19th Charles, i. e. 1643-4, but it does not appear how long it was before Mr. Williams brought it over. It is not to be wondered at, if it took them some time to agree in a method.

In 1647, May 19th, a General Assembly of the Province (as then called) established a body of very good and wholesome laws, agreeable to the English statute book; and erected a form of civil government for the administration of the laws, and the making such other, as should be found necessary. The supreme power was left in the body of the people, assembled in an orderly way; a court of Commissioners, consisting of six persons, chosen by each of the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport, and Warwick, had a legislative authority; at least their acts were to be in force, unless repealed within a limited time by the vote of the major part of the freemen of the Prov-

ince, to be collected at their respective town meetings appointed for that end.

A President and four Assistants were chosen yearly, to be conservators of the peace, with all civil power, and by a special commission they were judges of the court of trials, assisted by the two wardens or justices of the particular town in which the court sat from time to time.

Every town chose a Council of six persons, to manage their town affairs, and their town court had the trial of small cases, but with an appeal to the court of the President and Assistants.

This form of government subsisted till 1651, when there were some obstructions to it, by a commission granted from the Council of State, to the principal inhabitant of the Island, to govern the Island with a Council chosen by the people, and approved by himself. But the people, thinking it "a violation or encroachment on their liberties and purchases, as granted and secured by Charter," immediately despatched Mr. R. Williams and Mr. J. Clark to England, as their agents; and they easily procured an order from the Council of State to vacate or suspend the commission. This order is dated 2d of October, 1652, but by reason of some misunderstandings between the four towns, it was a year or two before they returned to their old plan, which then lasted to the present Charter.

In 1663, July 8, Charles II. granted an ample Charter, whereby the Province was made “a body corporate and politic, in fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations in New-England in America.” This *Charter* we enjoy to this day, through the merciful providence of God. And as every one knows the form of government established in it, I need say but little about it. The Governor, the Deputy Governor, and ten Assistants chosen yearly by the freemen, on the first Wednesday in May, have the administration of the government in their hands; and together with thirty-six Deputies,\* chosen half yearly by the several towns, make up the General Assembly; which is the highest Court in the Colony, and our Legislature: empowered to make laws as to them shall seem meet, for the good and welfare of the said Company—“so as such laws be not contrary and repugnant unto, but as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there.”

This Assembly meets twice a year by Charter, on election day, and the last Wednesday of October.

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\*The town of Charlestown being erected since this was prepared for the press, the number of Deputies is now thirty-eight.



The first, by law, is held at Newport, and the last at Providence and South-Kingston alternately. The Governor has no negative voice, and the major vote of the whole Assembly in one House determines in the choice of civil or military officers; but in the passing laws the Assembly sits in two Houses.

It would be too tedious to give a particular account of all the repeated attempts and stratagems made use of, to wrest the jurisdiction and propriety of a considerable part of the lands within our Patent from the Colony.

Therefore I proceed to say,

When Colonel Dudley was appointed President of the Massachusetts, the Narraganset country, called then King's Province, was included in his commission. In 1685, October 6, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued out against the Colony, which was brought here June 26, 1686, by Ed. Randolph, Esq., whereupon the free inhabitants, especially of the chief towns, met at Newport on the 29th, and gave in their opinion to the General Assembly, and left "the further proceeding to the judicious determination of the Assembly." The Assembly, upon serious consideration, published and declared that they determined not to "stand suit with His Majesty, but to proceed, by humble address to His

Majesty to continue their privileges and liberties according to the Charter;" and they accordingly sent home an address to the King, who by his answer promised them protection and favor. However, the Colony was put under the government of Sir Ed. Andross, and "suffered with others, several hardships and severe impositions."

The reasons why the Assembly chose not to stand suit with the King, were partly "their poverty and inability to bear the expense of such a law-suit in England, and partly the example of the many Corporations in England, which had in the like case surrendered their Charters;" and perhaps the secret hope they should find more favor with the King, by this way of proceeding, was the principal motive.

January 12, 1686-7. Sir Edmund Andross's commission to be Governor of this Colony, with the rest of New-England, was published here, and the Colony made one county, and governed by civil officers under him.

After the revolution in England, there was a General Assembly of the freemen of the Colony at Newport, May 1, 1689, who agreed "that since Sir Ed. Andross was seized and confined with others of his Council (at Boston) and his authority silenced and deposed, it was their duty to lay hold

of their former Charter privileges; and avowedly professing all allegiance to the crown of England, they replaced all the general officers that had been displaced three years before. But some of the gentlemen afterwards declining to act by this authority, a General Assembly, called February 20 following, elected others in their room. And there having been no judgment against the Charter, the government allowed of the resuming it, and through the divine goodness, and the clemency, justice, and prudence of our Princes, it has been continued ever since. God grant, we may never forfeit nor lose our precious and invaluable liberties and privileges; and that we may ever use them with prudence and discretion, with gratitude to God, the governor of the world; and with loyalty to the crown!

It is now more than time for me to lay before you, some account of our religious affairs.

It is a pity we cannot entirely confute all the opprobrious things which some have written of some of the inhabitants. I am satisfied a great many of them were wholly groundless, many others very much aggravated and misrepresented, and some things made to be reproaches which in reality were praiseworthy.

I take it to have been no dishonor to the Colony, that Christians, of every denomination, were suf-

ferred to lead quiet and peaceable lives, without any fines or punishments for their speculative opinions, or for using those external forms of worship they believed God had appointed, and would accept. Bigots may call this confusion and disorder, and it may be so, according to their poor worldly notions of religion, and the kingdom of Christ. But the pretended order of human authority, assuming the place and prerogatives of Jesus Christ, and trampling on the consciences of his subjects, is, as Mr. R. Williams most justly calls it, "monstrous disorder."

Though it be very certain, that a public worship of God is very necessary, even to civilize mankind, who would be likely to lose all sense of religion without it; yet it will not follow, that the civil magistrate, as such, has authority to appoint the rites of worship, and constrain all his subjects to use them, much less to punish them for using any other. What has been forever the consequences of his pretending to such authority, and using his power to support it? What glory doth it bring to God, and what good can it do to men, to force them to attend a worship they disapprove? It can only make them hypocrites, and God abhors such worshippers.

Notwithstanding our constitution left every one to his own liberty, and his conscience; and not-

withstanding the variety of opinions that were entertained, and notwithstanding some may have contracted too great an indifference to any social worship, yet I am well assured there scarce ever was a time, the hundred years past, in which there was not a weekly public worship of God, attended by Christians, on this Island and in the other first towns of the Colony.

It is no ways unlikely, some odd and whimsical opinions may have been broached; the liberty enjoyed here, would tempt persons distressed for their opinions in the neighboring governments, to retire to this Colony as an asylum. It is no ways unlikely, that some persons of a very different genius and spirit from the first settlers, might intrude themselves, and use this liberty as an occasion to the flesh; but the first set of men who came here, were a pious generation, men of virtue and godliness, notwithstanding their tincture of enthusiasm, which was not peculiar to them; and notwithstanding their peculiar opinions of justification, and the nature and rights of the Christian church. They had not so many great and wise men among them, perhaps, as were in some of the other Colonies; but their whole number was very small, in comparison with the other Colonies. Nevertheless, they had some very considerable men, and of superior merit. It is true, likewise, their form of government was too feeble; their first Patent left



them without sufficient authority in their civil officers, to check any popular humors; but yet, they did, and that as early as the Massachusetts Colony, form a body of good laws, by which all vice, and every immorality, was discouraged or punished. And throughout the whole history of the Island and Colony, there is manifestly an aim and endeavor to prevent or suppress all disorders and immoralities, and to promote universal peace, virtue, godliness, and charity.

I do not pretend to defend all the opinions that were entertained by any of them; much less, all the extravagant notions that were unjustly ascribed to some of them; nor yet to justify every word or action that might be the effect of heated zeal, or raised indignation and resentment. That man, who will go about to justify or condemn a party, in the gross, and without distinction, shall never be approved or imitated by me; much less can it be expected, I should defend all the opinions of so many different religious parties, as were here united in civil peace. However, I dare say it after Mr. J. Clark, that “notwithstanding the different consciences and understandings among them, they agreed to maintain civil justice and judgments; neither were there such outrages committed among them, as in other parts of the country were frequently seen.” (*Clark's Nar. Introd.*) And I bear them witness, they had a zeal for God: If it

were not according to knowledge in ever article, yet they lay open to instruction, desirous to find out and discover the whole mind and will of God ; which cannot so truly be said of all places, where yet men are not more infallible. If there were any of them, who made shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, perhaps it would be as easy, as it would be invidious, to find parallels enough in other places, to shew there are other dangerous rocks, besides liberty of conscience. It is an unaccountable humor that has prevailed among too many Christian sects, to make religion and the gospel consist in their own peculiar and distinguishing tenets, which would almost tempt an impartial man to think it ought rather to consist in those things, wherein they are most generally agreed, and conclude in the words of the excellent Dr. Cotton Mather : " The period hastens for a new reformation, wherein it is likely none of our very best parties will be, in all things, the standard of what shall prevail in the world, but our holy Lord will form a new people of those good men that shall unite in the articles of their goodness, and sweetly bear with one another in their lesser differences." (*Good Men United*, p. 26-7.

It must be a mean, contracted way of thinking, to confine the favor of God and the power of godliness, to one set of speculative opinions, or any particular external forms of worship. How hard must

it be, to imagine all other Christians but ourselves must be formal and hypocritical, and destitute of the grace of God, because their education or capacity differs from ours, or that God has given them more or less light than to us, though we cannot deny, they give the proper evidence of their fearing God, by their working righteousness; and shew their love to him, by keeping what they understand he has commanded; and though their faith in Christ Jesus purifies their hearts, and works by love, and overcomes the world. It would be hard to shew, why liberty of conscience, mutual forbearance and good will, why brotherly kindness and charity, is not as good a center of unity, as a constrained uniformity in external ceremonies, or a forced subscription to ambiguous articles. Experience has dearly convinced the world, that unanimity in judgment and affection cannot be secured by penal laws. Who can tell, why the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace, is not enough for Christians to aim at? And who can assign a reason, why they may not love one another, though abounding in their own several senses? And why, if they live in peace, the God of love and peace may not be with them?

Indulgence to tender consciences, might be a reproach to the Colony, an hundred years ago, but a better way of thinking prevails in the Protestant part of the Christian church at present. It is now

a glory to the Colony, to have avowed such sentiments so long ago, while blindness in this article happened in other places, and to have led the way as an example to others, and to have first put the theory into practice.

Liberty of conscience is more fully established and enjoyed now, in the other New-English Colonies; and our mother Kingdom grants a legal toleration to all peaceable and conscientious dissenters from the parliamentary establishment. Greater light breaking into the world and the church, and especially all parties by turns experiencing and complaining aloud of the hardships of constraint, they are come to allow as reasonable to all others, what they want and challenge for themselves. And there is no other bottom but this to rest upon, to leave others the liberty we should desire ourselves, the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free. This is doing as we would be done by; the grand rule of justice and equity; this is leaving the government of the church to Jesus Christ, the King and head over all things, and suffering his subjects to obey and serve him.

But to take things in their order, Mr. R. Williams is said, in a few years after his settling at Providence, to have embraced the opinions of the people called (by way of reproach) Anabaptists, in respect to the subject and mode of baptism; and to have

formed a church there, in that way, with the help of one Mr. Ezekiel Holliman,\* and that after a while he renounced these opinions likewise, and turned seeker, i. e. to wait for new apostles to restore Christianity. He believed the Christian religion to have been so corrupted and disfigured in what he called the “apostacy, as that there was no ministry of an ordinary vocation left in the church, but prophecy,” and that there was need of a special commission, to restore the modes of positive worship, according to the original institution. It does not appear to me, that he had any doubt of the true mode, and proper subjects of baptism, but

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\* Since this was transcribed for the press, I find some reasons to suspect, that Mr. Williams did not form a Church of the *Anabaptists*, and that he never joined with the Baptist Church there. Only, that he allowed them to be nearest the scripture rule, and true primitive practice, as to the mode and subject of baptism. But that he himself waited for new apostles, &c. The most ancient inhabitants now alive, some of them above eighty years old, who personally knew Mr. Williams, and were well acquainted with many of the original settlers, never heard that Mr. Williams formed the Baptist Church there, but always understood that Mr. Browne, Mr. Wickenden or Wiginton, Mr. Dexter, Mr. Olney, Mr. Tillinghast, &c., were the first founders of that Church.†

† “I have one of the Century Sermons of Mr. Callender, with a *dele* upon this note, in his own hand writing.” See manuscript materials for a history of the Baptists, by the Rev. Morgan Edwards, in the cabinet of the Rhode-Island Historical Society.—*Editor*.



that no man had any authority to revive the practice of the sacred ordinances, without a new and immediate commission. It is also said, (*Neale*,) "That his church hereupon crumbled to pieces, every one following his own fancy, and the worship of God came to be generally neglected." But I believe this to be a mistake in fact, for it certainly appears, there was a flourishing church of the Baptists there, a few years after the time of the supposed breaking to pieces; and it is known by the names of the members, as well as by tradition, they were some of the first settlers at Providence; however, it is possible some of his followers might embrace his new opinions. Mr. Williams used to uphold a public worship, sometimes, though not weekly, as many now alive remember, and he used to go once a month, for many years, to Mr. Smith's in the Narraganset, for the same end.

There was no reason to lay aside the use of the sacred institutions of Jesus Christ, because they had been perverted, for surely the disciples of Jesus Christ must of necessity have an inherent right to revive, or rectify, any of his ordinances that have been misused. The Protestants in general have done so, by both sacraments, which they have all of them rescued from some or other of the corruptions of Popery. And why they may not be as well rescued from every corruption, as from some, and why Christians may not revive the

true form of administering baptism, as well as the supper, is hard to tell, unless we make a charm of the institution. So long as we have the New Testament, wherein the original commission and instructions are contained, we can want no immediate warrant to obey the general laws of Christ, any more than a new revelation, and new miracles, to justify our believing the old facts and doctrines of the gospel. The Bible contains the religion of Christians, and the word of God is a sufficient rule of faith and worship. Had Mr. Williams adhered to this maxim, the maxim of the Protestants, and more especially of the Puritans, he might have continued an Anabaptist all his days, as it is said he was more inclinable to them in his latter time.

Bishop Sanderson says, (*Vencer on the thirty-nine articles*, p. 655,) that “the Rev. Archbishop Whitgift, and the learned Hooker, men of great judgment, and famous in their times, did long since foresee and declare their fear, that if ever Puritanism should prevail among us, it would soon draw in Anabaptism after it.—This Cartwright and the Disciplinarians denied, and were offended at.—But these good men judged right; they considered, only as prudent men, that Anabaptism had its rise from the same principles the Puritans held, and its growth from the same course they took; together with the natural tendency of their principles and practices toward it; especially that ONE

PRINCIPLE, as it was then by them misunderstood, that the scripture was *adequata agendorum regula*, so as nothing might be lawfully done, without express warrant, either from some command or example therein contained; which clue, if followed as far as it would go, would certainly in time carry them as far as the Anabaptists had then gone."

This I beg leave to look on as a most glorious concession of the most able adversaries. One party contend, that the scripture is the adequate rule of worship, and for the necessity of some command or example there; the other party say this leads to Anabaptism. It seems very remarkable, that the Puritans, at least some of the Puritans, put the baptism of infants, and the administering baptism by sprinkling, on a different foot from many of the other party. It was one grand reason of the Plymouth people's discontent in Holland, that the Dutch would not reform the custom of baptising indifferently the children of all persons that had been themselves baptised in infancy. And it was once a great complaint against New-England, that the children only of visible church members were admitted to baptism. Nor did the general way of baptising the grand children of the covenant, or the infants of such as do what is called "owning the covenant," (a phrase and way peculiar perhaps to New-England,) take place, without a very great and long struggle: perhaps

it does not yet universally prevail. When the first principles and practice of New-England are inquired into, and compared together, and with those that prevailed forty years after; it will be found no great wonder, if a person (and there have been such persons) who heard the unanswerable arguments with which some Pædo-baptists prove the infants of those who are not members of some visible church, are not to be baptised; and the like powerful arguments, with which others prove that other infants have an equal right and claim with the infants of church members; I say, it would be no wonder, if such a person should believe them both, and conclude in the words of the late excellent Dr. C. Mather, on a like occasion, "that regeneration is the thing, without which, a title unto sacraments is not to be pretended; that real regeneration is that which, before God, renders men capable of claiming sacraments; and visible or expressed regeneration, is that which, before men, enables them to make such a claim." *Comp. for Comm.* p. 31.)

But to return. About the year 1653 or 54, there was a division in the Baptist Church, at Providence, about the right of laying on of hands, which some pleaded for as essentially necessary to church communion, and the others would leave indifferent. Hereupon they walked in two churches, one under Mr. C. Browne, Mr. Wickenden, &c., the other

under Mr. Thomas Olney ;\* but laying on of hands at length generally obtained.

It is remarkable, that the principles of a too rigid separation, planted by Mr. Williams, have taken a deep root, while some other of his darling opinions are almost withered away. That church which was distinguished by holding laying on of hands necessary to all baptised persons, came in time, generally to hold universal redemption.

This Church shot out into divers branches, as the members increased, and the distance of their habitations made it inconvenient to attend the public worship in the town ; several meetings were thereupon fixed at different places, for their ease and accommodation ; and about the time the large township of Providence became divided into four towns, these chapels of ease began to be considered as distinct churches, though all are yet in a union of counsels and interests. And there is a strict Association of all the Baptist Churches in New-England, that hold the doctrine of laying on of hands, in that sense, maintained by yearly meetings of the elders and brethren, at several places,

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\* This last continued till about twenty years since, when becoming destitute of an elder, the members were united with other churches. At present, there is some prospect of their re-establishment in church order.



from time to time, where the affairs of all the Churches are considered.

The people who came to Rhode-Island, who were Puritans of the highest form, had desired and depended on the assistance of Mr. Wheelwright, a famous Congregational minister aforementioned. But he chose to go to Long-Island, where he continued some years. In the mean time, Mr. John Clark, who was a man of letters, carried on a public worship, (as Mr. Brewster did at Plymouth,) at the first coming, till they procured Mr. Lenthal, of Weymouth, who was admitted a freeman here, August 6, 1640. And August 20, Mr. Lenthal was by vote called to keep a public school for the learning of youth, and for his encouragement there was granted to him and his heirs one hundred acres of land, and four more for an house lot; it was also voted, "that one hundred acres should be laid forth, and appropriated for a school, for encouragement of the poorer sort, to train up their youth in learning, and Mr. Robert Lenthal, while he continues to teach school, is to have the benefit thereof." But this gentleman did not tarry here very long: I find him gone to England the next year but one; but there is no reason to think that persons of their zeal should immediately fall into a total neglect of a social worship. One of their first cares, both at Portsmouth and at Newport, was to build a Meeting House, which I suppose was designed for public worship.

It is said that, in 1644, Mr. John Clark and some others formed a Church on the scheme and principles of the Baptists. It is certain that in 1648 there were fifteen members in full communion.\* And it is this Church, of which we are, by Divine Providence, the successors, though with some little variation in the points which their adversaries had objected to them, in the other Colony. And thus all the Churches of Christ in New-England have meliorated their opinions, and ways of speaking of some points, since that age of dispute, contention and temptation. However, I have good reason to think, the first founders of this church would have heartily joined in that explanation, which was accepted from Mr. Cotton, by the synod, and which is said "to make an happy conclusion of the whole matter," and I suppose every one of the present members would readily subscribe it, viz. "That we are not married to the Lord Jesus Christ, without faith, giving an actual consent of the soul to it; that effectual calling, and the soul's apprehending by faith, is in the order of nature, before God's act of justification on the soul; and that in the testimony of the Holy Spirit, which is the evidence of our good estate before God, the qualifica-

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\* The names of the males were, John Clark, Mark Lukar, Nathanael West, Wm. Vahan, Thomas Clark, Joseph Clark, John Peckham, John Thorndon, William Weeden, and Samuel Hubbard.

tions of inherent graces, and the fruits thereof, proving the sincerity of our faith, must ever be co-existent, concurrent, and co-apparent, or else the conceived testimony of the Spirit is either a delusion or doubtful?" (*Magnal.* b. 7, p. 17.) In this Church there were several persons, able to speak to the edification of the rest; and I have been informed by tradition, that the greatest part of the inhabitants used to attend this worship, though the members in church fellowship were always but few.

In 1652 (during Mr. Clark's absence in England) some of the brethren embraced the opinion of laying on of hands, as necessary to all baptised persons, and in the year 1654 or 1656, the opinion it was necessary to church communion and fellowship, together with their opinions of the doctrines of grace and free-will, occasioned some of them to separate, and form a Church by themselves, under the leading of Mr. Wm. Vahan; this Church continues to this day, and is numerous; at present under the pastoral care of Messrs. D. Wightman and N. Eyres.

In 1656 or 1657, some of the people called Quakers came to this Colony and Island; and being persecuted and abused in the other Colonies, that, together with the opinions and circumstances of the people here, gave them a very large harvest;

many, and some of the Baptist Church, embraced their doctrines and particular opinions, to which many of their posterity, and others, still adhere.

About 1665, a number of the members of the Church under Mr. J. Clark, removed to the new plantation at Westerly, among whom Mr. John Crandal was a preacher and elder. They afterwards did generally embrace the Seventh-Day Sabbath, and their successors are now a very large and flourishing Church, under the pastoral care of Messrs. J. and J. Maxon, and Mr. William Hiscox.

In 1671, some of the members of Mr. Clark's Church, who had been in the observation of the Seventh-Day Sabbath for some years, thought it proper and necessary to draw off by themselves; and they erected a Church, under the leading of Mr. William Hiscox. It is under the roof of their successors we are now assembled.\* Mr. J. Crandal, elder of this Church, died the 12th of September, 1737.

In 1695, several ministers of the Massachusetts Colony came and preached here to some who had desired it. The next year there was a Meeting

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\* While our Church is erecting a new and more convenient Meeting House, we are kindly favored with the use of this, belonging to the Sabbatarian Church.

House erected, in which the public worship of God was maintained by the Rev. Mr. Nathanael Clap. In 1720, there was a Church in the Congregational scheme gathered, and he was ordained the pastor, and is still alive, laboring in the word and doctrine. In 1728, there was another Church formed out of this; the present pastor the Rev. Mr. James Searing.

About 1700, the worship of God, according to the rites of the Church of England, was began to be set up here, by the Society for propagating the gospel in foreign parts. Mr. Lockyer was the first Missionary, succeeded by the Rev. Mr. James Honyman, at present the most ancient Missionary of the Church of England in all America.

So that there are at this time, seven worshipping Assemblies, Churches or Societies, in this town, besides a large one of the people called Quakers, at Portsmouth, the other part of the Island.

I am not able to assign the exact date, when every Church or meeting began, or every Meeting House was built, in all the several towns of the Colony. But there are now in the other eleven towns no less than twenty-five distinct Societies or worshipping Assemblies of Christians; besides several places where there are occasional meetings, in some part of the year, or at certain seasons, as



is the custom in the other Colonies, among the new or scattered settlements.

There are in the nine towns on the main land, eight Churches of the people called Baptists, one in every town, except Greenwich, where there is, however, a Meeting House, in which there is a meeting once a month.\*

Of the people called Quakers, there are seven Meeting Houses on the main land, and one at James-Town on Conanicut Island ; and a constant meeting at Westerly, though no Meeting House yet erected.

There are four Episcopal Churches on the main, one at Providence, to which the Rev. Mr. John Checkley is appointed, and one at North-Kingston, of which the Rev. James M'cSparran, D. D., is the present rector ; besides one at Westerly, and one on the edge of Warwick, adjoining to East-Greenwich, which are occasionally supplied by the Missionaries at other towns.

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\*The names of the elders of these Churches are, at Providence, Mr. T. Windsor, and Tho. Burlingham ; at Smithfield, Mr. Josias Cooke ; at Scituate, Mr. S. Fisk ; at Glocester, Mr. Ed. Mitchel ; at Warwick, Mr. Manasseh Martyn and Mr. Francis Bates ; at N. Kingston, Mr. R. Sweet and Mr. B. Herrington ; at S. Kingston, Mr. Daniel Everit.

There are three Presbyterian or Congregational Churches, at Providence, South-Kingston and Westerly; each of them supplied at present with a pastor, viz. the Rev. Mr. Josiah Cotton, at Providence; the Rev. Mr. Joseph Torrey, at South-Kingston; and the Rev. Mr. Joseph Park, at Westerly. And at New-Shoreham or Block-Island there is a Meeting House, which is at present supplied with a preacher.

Thus, notwithstanding all the liberty and indulgence here allowed, and notwithstanding the inhabitants have been represented as living without a public worship, and as ungospelized plantations; we see there is some form of godliness every where maintained. God grant the power may always accompany the form, and that all that name the name of Christ may depart from iniquity; may Christ Jesus walk in the midst of his golden candlesticks, and hold the stars in his right hand; and may he heal all divisions among his disciples; may he unite the hearts of all that love him, to love one another; may he grant them to be all like-minded, and may pure religion, and undefiled before God and the Father, thrive and flourish among us!

It remains now that I say a few words relating to the state of the Indians, within the bounds of this Colony, and the circumstances of the English in regard to them.

In general, all the New-English Colonies were at the first but one interest, in relation to the Indians, and though the other four called themselves the united Colonies, there was a commission from this Colony to Mr. Williams and Mr. Clark, to enter into a league offensive and defensive with them.

A few years, three or four, before the English came to Plymouth, the Indians had been dreadfully wasted away by devouring sickness, from Narraganset to Penobscut. So that the living sufficed not to bury the dead, and the ground was covered with their bones in many places. This wonderfully made room for the English at Plymouth and Massachusetts, and those Colonies protected the rest.

In the year 1637, the English with united forces subdued the Pequots, who had attacked their brethren in Connecticut; the Narragansets, who bordered on the Pequot's land, consented and assisted in their destruction, through a desire of revenge, which is remarkable in all the savages, though their old sachem desired to have preserved peace.

The Nanhygansicks, or Narragansets, inhabited the lands, or governed over all the Indians within the bounds of this Colony. They were a nume-

rous, a rich, and powerful people: and though they are, by some, said to have been less fierce and warlike than the Pequots, yet it appears they had lately, before the English came, not only increased their numbers, by receiving many who had fled to them from the devouring sickness or plague in the other parts of the land; but they had enlarged their territories, and that both on the eastern and western boundaries. They were reckoned five thousand fighting men. (*MS. of Mr. R. W. in evidence.*) And Mr. Williams says, they were so populous, that a traveller would meet with a dozen Indian towns in twenty miles.

In the midst of this mighty and haughty people, the little handful of helpless English ventured to sit down; though not without taking all possible precautions, on the one hand, to give them no just offence, and on the other hand to keep themselves in the best posture of defence their circumstances would admit of. But the conquest and utter destruction of the Pequots, had for the present endeared Englishmen to the Narragansets. And the conduct and valor they had shewn, and the wonderful success of their expedition, had made them a terror to all the Indian nations round about.

Mr. Williams at first “made a league of peaceable neighborhood with all the sachems and natives round about;” in this, Rhode-Island was included.

And, on the 7th of July, 1640, Mr. Coddington, with the rest of his Assistants, had a particular treaty of peace and amity with Myantonomy and the rest of the sachems. Nevertheless, the next year there was a misunderstanding, and some hostilities, occasioned, I think, by some of the Indians (if not Myantonomy himself) kindling fire in Mr. Easton's land, Lord's Day, April 4, 1641, whereby an house of his was burnt. But whether it was designedly, or only through carelessness, does not plainly appear in the records. However, it alarmed the people, and among other measures, *they fitted out an armed boat*, to ply round the Island, to keep off the Indians from landing; and it seems, in some scuffle on that account, two Englishmen were wounded, and one Indian slain; though the orders to the soldiers were as mild and prudent as could be given. They likewise appointed garrison houses, to which the people were to repair on an alarm. Among which, I find one was Mr. Lenthal's, the minister. But the rupture lasted not long, before peace was restored.

In 1643, Myantonomy, the great sachem of the Narragansets, was taken prisoner by Uncas, sachem of the Moheags, and some time after slain, and as some of the English say, after quarter and promise of life given. This excited his subjects to revenge his death, but the terror of the English at the Massachusetts kept them quiet. And so it is



said, that seven years after, there were some commotions stilled by the same terror, and so likewise in 1653, &c. &c.

In 1652, when the Council of State confirmed their Patent, the people were put on some enterprises against the Dutch at New-York, or New-Netherlands, and the next year the Island sent some men to the assistance of their countrymen, settled at Long-Island, which gave great offence to the towns on the main, and in the two Dutch wars, in King Charles 2d's time, the Colony and Island were put to considerable expense and trouble to put and keep themselves in a posture of defence.

In 1675, Philip, King of the Wampanoags, began a war against Plymouth Colony in June, which soon spread almost throughout all New-England. Tradition says,\* “ He was forced on by the fury of his young men, sore against his own judgment and inclination ; and that though he foresaw, and fore-

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\* All the histories from Mr. Hubbard and Dr. Mather, make Philip to be the spring and mover of the war ; but there is a constant tradition among the posterity of the people, who lived next to him, and were familiarly conversant with him, as also with the Indians who survived the war, that both Philip and his chief old men were utterly averse to the war, and they shew the spot (Kikemuit spring, in a farm belonging to Stephen Paine, Esq., in Bristol) where Philip received the news of the first En-

told the English would in time by their industry, root out all the Indians, yet he was against making war with them, as what he thought would only hurry on and increase the destruction of his people;" and the event proved he judged right. The Powaws had foretold Philip, no Englishman should ever kill him, which accordingly proved true; he was shot dead by an Indian.\*

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glishmen that were killed, with grief and sorrow, and wept at the news; and that a day or two before the first outrages, he had protected an Englishman the Indians had captivated, rescued him from them, and privately sent him home safe.

\*I have heard from some old people, who were familiarly acquainted with the Indians, both before and after the war, that the Powaws had likewise given out another ambiguous oracle, which did very much spirit on the Indians to war at first, and afterwards as much discouraged them, viz. that they promised the Indians would be successful, if the English fired the first gun. It is certain the Indians long delayed, and designedly avoided firing on the English, and seemed to use all possible means to provoke the English to fire first, by rifling their houses, abusing their cattle, threatening and insulting their persons, &c. And the histories carry it, that an Englishman fired the first gun, at Metapoiset garrison, some days before any English were slain. But those ancient people, since dead, told me, that by a mistake, occasioned through the hurry and trepidation which usually attends the beginning of any considerable enterprise, an Indian fired the

When Philip could no longer resist the importunity of his warriors, he, like a wise man, took the most proper measures to make their enterprise effectual, especially by an early endeavor to persuade the other Indian nations into the war, that with united forces they might fall on the English every where at once; and particularly he endeavored to persuade the Narragansets, who had several pretensions to quarrel with the English, and who were then reputed four thousand\* fighting

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first gun, (whether on Pocasset side, where there was a skirmish at the beginning of the war, that is not mentioned by Mr. Hubbard, &c., I cannot now say,) and that the news of this, when known among the Indians, was a fatal wound to their courage, they saying the Englishman's God would now subdue them, which contributed not a little to their after destruction. This I always looked on as a very remarkable passage, but the authors before mentioned, and Col. Church, who had by far the best means to be informed in all circumstances relating to the beginning and progress of the war in this part of the country, being wholly silent about it; and the few ancient people who are now alive, that were actors in the war, not retaining any perfect tradition of the matter, the reader may entertain the story as he pleases; I dare not warrant the truth of it, but only that I certainly heard the story from some ancient people of Swansey, since deceased.

\*Mr. Hubbard says, page 13: "The Narhagansets promised to rise with four thousand in the spring of the year 1676," and in a postscript, says, "Concerning the

men. But whether the war began too soon for them, or the first beginnings discouraged them, or that they did not intend to make war at all; they renewed their league of peace and war with the united Colonies, in July, a month after Philip had begun hostilities at Swansey.

However, when he was driven out of his country, they were charged to have received and entertained his people. Whereupon the united Colonies sent an army of a thousand men, under Jos. Winslow, Esq. He arrived with the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces, the 12th of December, at Major

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Narhagansets, this is further to be added here, that Mr. Thomas Stanton and his son Robert, who have a long time lived amongst them, and are best acquainted with their language and manners of any in New-England, do affirm that, to their knowledge, the Narhaganset sachems, before the late troubles, had two thousand fighting men under them, and nine hundred arms." These accounts are perhaps both true, for the first might mean to contain all the Indians in the bounds of this Colony, who being under the authority of the great Narhaganset sachem, were often called by this general name; and were perhaps four thousand fighting men. Mr. Stanton might mean only those properly or precisely called Narraganset Indians, in distinction from the Indians at Providence and the Indians at Warwick, who joined in the war under Pomham, &c., and from the Nyhantic Indians, under Ninigret, who did not join in the war; though these were

Smith's, in North-Kingston ; on the 18th, the Connecticut men being arrived, the army marched the next day near eighteen miles to a sort of fort, (19th of December,) which the Indians had raised on an Island of upland, in the midst of a most hideous swamp. Their Indian guide led them to the only place where it could be attacked ; the English fell on with too much courage and eagerness, which proved fatal to some of their valiant Captains. However, their victory was complete ; the fort was taken, and it is said seven hundred fighting men, and twenty chief Captains of the enemy were slain that day, besides women and children ; and three hundred more died of their

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always, and to this day are, frequently included in the general name of Narhaganset Indians. What seems to confirm this, is what Mr. Hubbard adds, viz. "Yet are they so broken and scattered at this day, that there is none of them left on this side the country, unless some few, not exceeding seventy in number, that have sheltered themselves under the inhabitants of Rhode-Island, as a merchant of that place, worthy of credit, lately affirmed to the writer hereof." Those sheltered at the Island were either prisoners of war, or such as had voluntarily surrendered themselves to the English for protection, on promise of life. But it is well known, that Ninigret's men alone vastly exceeded that number ; besides there were divers prisoners at Providence. And that side of the country was much fuller of Indians, in the memory of very many now alive.



wounds afterwards, besides the vast numbers who perished through cold and hunger. The loss to the English was of about eighty men; six Captains slain, and one hundred and fifty men wounded, many of them by their own friends. Towards night, they set fire to the fort, and retreated to their head quarters, through the cold and snow. Some thought, if they had kept possession of the fort, where was the Indian provisions, they might have saved many of their own wounded men, and that the Indians must all have perished, through cold and hunger, or surrendered at discretion, the next morning. Others thought it a merciful providence, they retreated so soon, notwithstanding the fatigue of such a retreat. But however that be, which cannot so well be judged of now,\* the

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\*Mr. Hubbard represents the burning the fort as necessary to dislodge the Indians, and after that the retreat must be also necessary. However, he mentions their want of provisions, by means of their vessels being frozen in at Cape Cod. He says there was a great quantity of provisions burned in the four or five hundred wigwams in the fort. And he several times laments the misery of the wounded men, in marching near eighteen miles through the cold and snow that night, before their wounds could be dressed. But Col. Church, who was present and wounded in the action, tells us, he vehemently opposed the firing the fort; that the General was surprised into it, and he condemns it as a very imprudent and unfortunate conduct. He says, "The fort was full of corn

wounded and starving Indians, on their retreat, returned, put out their fires, and sheltered themselves, and found some refreshment among the ashes of the best and strongest fortification the Indians were ever masters of in this country. This was the greatest action ever performed by the New-English Colonies, against the Indians; if we regard either the numbers of men on each side, or the consequences of the action. Beside that, the Indians had now the use of guns, as well as they; and were as expert in the use of them, as any men in the world. The Indians were soon pursued with famine and sickness, so that after they submitted the next year, they were never formidable again. These Narragansets do now in a manner cease to be a people, the few, if any, remaining in the Colony,

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and other provisions, sufficient to support the whole army till the spring, and there was no other provisions to be depended on; there was good warm lodging for the wounded men, not elsewhere to be had." He supposes every one acquainted with the circumstances of that night's march, deeply laments the misery of the whole army, especially of the wounded and dying men. He adds, "That it mercifully came to pass, that Capt. Andrew Belcher arrived that very night at Mr. Smith's, from Boston, loaden with provisions for the army, who must otherwise have perished for want." (*Church*, p. 16, 17.) Tradition is on the same side, and supposes had the army kept possession of the fort, it must have in a manner finished the war.

being either scattered about where the English will employ them, or sheltered under the successors of Ninigret, a sachem that refused to join in the war, and so has preserved his lands to his posterity; and there are a few Indians now living round him, on his lands, or belonging to his tribe.

As to the part this Colony had in that war, it must be observed that though the Colony was not, as they ought to have been, consulted, yet they not only afforded shelter and protection to the flying English, who deserted from many of the neighboring plantations, in Plymouth Colony, and were received kindly by the inhabitants, and relieved, and allowed to plant the next year on their commons, for their support; but they likewise furnished some of the forces with provisions and transports: and some of their principal gentlemen, as Major Sanford, and Capt. Goulding, were in the action at Mount Hope, as volunteers in Captain Church's Company, when King Philip was slain.\*

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\* In the Colony's answer to the King's letter, 1679, inquiring the value of Mount Hope Neck, which was begged of the King, by Johny Crowne, the poet, they say, that "a Rhode-Island Indian, under a Rhode-Island Captain, a volunteer, with a Plymouth Captain, killed King Philip." His name was Alderman, and Col. Church says he deserted the year before, from Weetamore, squaw sachem of Pocasset, and came over to Rhode-Island with his family, and gave good intelligence to the English at that time, which was ill improved or neglected.

The Indians never landed on the Island, in the war time, armed boats being kept plying round, to break their canoes, and prevent their making any attempts. But our settlements on the main suffered very much, both at Petaquamscut, and at Warwick, and at Providence; where the Indians burnt all the ungarrisoned and deserted houses. And the inhabitants made heavy complaints, that when the army of the united Colonies returned home, they did not leave a sufficient number of forces to protect our plantations, which were now, in a very peculiar manner, exposed to an exasperated and desperate enemy.\*

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\*I know this was attempted to be excused, by the agents of a neighboring Colony, before the King; and they had the face to assert, that "the Colony would never yield any joint assistance against the common enemy, no, not so much as in their own towns, on the main, nor garrison their own towns of Providence and Warwick, and so that the blame ought to lie on this government, if they suffered spoil, while the army was pursuing the routed enemy." But the printed histories confute this answer in part; the Providence Company, under Capt. Andrew Edmonds, was very helpful, and successful too, against the common enemy, and that even out of our own bounds. (See Hubbard's Narrative of the Troubles with the Indians, p. 28.) (See also Col. Church's History.) I could give several reasons, why the Colony did not act more jointly, and why it ought not to be charged to their fault, that they did not. But perhaps it would be no service to any body now to mention them.

As King Philip had no fortified places, and no magazines, when the foreign succor and assistance, which he depended upon, failed him, when the Narragansets were in his own condition, and the Mohawks refused to assist him, his people lost all hope, and courage, and conduct; being beaten off from their planting and fishing, and pursued by famine and sickness, and divers parties of the

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However, I must say, it was not owing only to the religious principles of the gentlemen then at the head of our administration. It is true, the Governor and the Deputy Governor, that year, were both of the people called Quakers, but there are military commissions still in being under their hands and seals, to Mr. B. Arnold, jun., and others, to go in *an armed sloop to visit the garrisons at Providence, &c.* It was but reasonable the united Colonies should have left a sufficient guard, at least, at their own head quarters, and some other places, while the Island, the only part of the Colony able to contribute to the charge of the wars, was at so great an expense in supporting and defending the distressed English, who fled to them from all the adjacent parts. On account of these and some other like aspersions, the forementioned Deputy Governor, in order that things might not be otherwise represented against us than they were, gave an affidavit or evidence on solemn engagement, that “he never was against giving forth any commissions to any, that might have been for the security of the King’s interest in this Colony.” This, with some commissions actually signed by him, is among a large number of ancient manuscripts in the possession of the Honorable William Coddington, Esq.



English, who had their courage raised in proportion as the other side were discouraged, they were forced to surrender almost at discretion, and beg peace on any terms. Philip himself being slain, and most of the chief captains, the war wholly ceased in this part of the country, and with those nations who first began the war.

Ever since that peace, this Colony has had little or nothing to do with the other Indian wars, but only to assist the other Colonies, when properly consulted and applied to. The Colony bore its part cheerfully in the several expeditions against the French at Port-Royal, and Canada. And divine Providence remarkably succeeded and smiled on the defence and protection of our sea-coasts, which were very much exposed all the two long French wars.

The necessary defence of the inhabitants, was never neglected in the time of war, and, since the peace, the Colony, though so small as it is, hath rebuilt an handsome Fort on an Island that commands the harbor of Newport, and, 1733, furnished it with a number of fine guns, at their own expense. Besides, the Colony always keeps a certain number of smaller carriage guns and small arms, with all necessaries and appurtenances in good order, ready to put on board one or more vessels, as occasion may require, on the very first notice of any enemy

on the coasts. And though a large proportion of the inhabitants are not free in their consciences to learn war, yet the military exercises are kept up as in other places, and the success which formerly attended the enterprises of our forces, will, while the memory thereof remains, keep up a military spirit in the body of the people.

The Narragansets, as I observed, were the most populous nation among the Indians, but all attempts to civilize or christianize them were utterly ineffectual. Their sachems would not suffer the gospel to be preached to their subjects, and their subjects obstinately adhered to the traditions and customs of their forefathers. It seems hard that New-England should be complained of and reproached as particularly negligent of the conversion of the Indians, and harder still we should be reproached for neglecting the methods used by the French to make proselytes of their Indians, and most unhappy that such complaints are made by writers that seem otherwise well acquainted with plantation affairs, and are deservedly of great note and character. It is happy, however, these reproaches are not well grounded. New-England, nay, the Massachusetts and Plymouth Colonies alone, have had more real success in the conversion of the Indians, not only than all the larger English Colonies to the southward, but than all the other Christian nations that have settled

throughout the whole Continent of America. The sectaries of New-England could never be contented with such sort of converts as the Roman Catholic Missionaries boasted of in many places; they had no satisfaction in the religion of the nominal Christians in Europe, and thought it would be no advantage to make such Christians among the Indians, as knew no more of the gospel than to make the sign of the cross, or who desired baptism only, for the sake of the new shirt with which their conversion was to be rewarded. And there was very great opposition to the making them real Christians. Their sachems or princes generally, their powaws or priests always, opposed all their power and all their arts to prevent the growth of the gospel, as what they imagined would put an end to their authority, especially that of their priests; and the customs of the people, their way of life, and their national vices, made it a most difficult task to gospelize such people, as must be first civilized or humanized. The New-English wonder to hear themselves reproached, for not intermarrying with such barbarians, of a complexion so different; they never had the temptations to the unnatural mixture, as some foreign plantations had, nor do they know other English plantations used to do so.

As to this Colony in particular; at first, the Narragansets made it a public interest, to oppose the propagation of the Christian religion. And

though Mr. Williams made some laudable attempts to instruct them, yet he was much discouraged, not only by want of a lawful warrant, or an immediate commission to be an apostle to them, but especially by (as he thought) the insuperable difficulty of preaching Christianity to them, in their own language with any propriety, without inspiration. After the war, they were soon reduced to the condition of the laboring poor, without property, hewers of wood and drawers of water; and there is no more reason to expect religion should, by human means, thrive among such people, than among the lazy and abandoned poor in London. The few that have lived much together, on Ninigret's lands, have had several offers of the gospel, as the Narragansets had before; and at present the Congregational minister at Westerly is a missionary to them, and encouraged by an exhibition from the Scotch Society for propagating Christian knowledge, by means of an estate, mortified to them for this end, by the late Dr. Daniel Williams, of London. However, it must be owned we have been too soon discouraged, and too negligent in this affair. Perhaps it is one of the worst effects of the variety of religious opinions among the English, that it has been some hindrance to this good work, and even furnished the Indians sometimes with an excuse or pretence to waive any offers to instruct them. If the manners of any have likewise prejudiced any Indians, it is most lamentable.

The vices of Christians have been an insurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity in all the other parts of the world, as there are too many evidences. May these reflections, however, stir us up to adorn our holy religion, and to be careful that we give none offence to any that are without : And may it dispose all persons to contribute all in their power, to further the conversion of these people to the Christian religion. They demand our compassion, and our prayers to the throne of grace, that God would remove the veil from their eyes, and all prejudices from their hearts ; that he would convert and save them.

Mr. R. Williams, at first, gave a promising character of the morals of these people ; but on longer acquaintance and more experience, he seems to have altered his opinion of them ; as appears by some expressions in a manuscript of his, yet remaining. “ The distinction of drunken, and sober, honest sachems, is (says he) both lamentable and ridiculous ; lamentable, that all Pagans are given to drunkenness ; and ridiculous, that those (of whom he was speaking) are excepted. It is (says he) notoriously known, what consciences all Pagans make of lying, stealing, whoring, murdering,” &c. 25th 6th m. 1658.

After this account of their morals, I should think it hardly worth while to inquire what was their



faith and worship that had so little effect on their conversation, if we had not just heard what a scandal to Christianity the lives of too many Christians are. However, the faith of this people and their idolatrous worship, was much like the other Indian nations. They believed in one great and good god, who lived somewhere at a great distance in the south-west, and that the spirits of good men do after death reside with him. But, the government of the world, they seemed to think, left in the hands of an evil god, the devil, to whom, with many inferior and subordinate deities, they paid their chief worship, at their nicommors, or devilish feasts, as Mr. Williams calls them.

The Indians in this part of America, appear to have been some of the least improved of the human species, without any learning or knowledge in any of the politer arts of life, even without iron and the improvements which depend on that. The strange destruction of this people, now since the wars ceased, and within memory, is very remarkable. Their insuperable aversion to the English industry, and way of life, the alteration from the Indian method of living, their laziness, and their universal love of strong drink, have swept them away, in a wonderful manner. So that there are now above twenty English to one Indian in the Colony. Their few miserable remainders are left, as monuments of the anger of a righteous God, and for our warn-

ing and instruction. While the contentions, and mutual animosities of the Indians in general, and their cursed thirst of revenge, made them a prey to the weak, and small number of English, we should learn not to bite and devour one another, lest we be devoured one of another, or of the judgments of God. While we have seen their iniquities prove their ruin, we should learn to break off from our sins by righteousness, and especially abstain from, and watch against the sins, which have been so evidently both the procuring causes and the means of their destruction. When God was conducting the Israelites to the land of Canaan, and driving out the inhabitants, to make room for them, he was pleased to warn and require them, not to defile themselves with the abominations of those nations, lest as the land then spued out its inhabitants, so it should spue out them likewise, when they in like manner defiled it. Though it would be ridiculous to compare ourselves to the Israelites, and the Indians to the Canaanites, in many instances, yet in this respect it may be proper to argue, that if we indianize in our manners and vices, they will in time draw down the like, or as heavy judgments of God, upon us, as those with which he hath destroyed our predecessors. God grant that the people, who have been overthrown in the wilderness may be ensamples to us, to prevent our lusting after any evils, lest we be destroyed likewise of the destroyer!

And this brings me now, at last, to the remarks I promised at the beginning. And

1. The first is, the wonderful and unsearchable providence of God, in the whole affair of driving out the natives, and planting Colonies of Europeans, and churches of Christians, in the place of heathenism and barbarity.

I pretend not to have known the mind of the Lord, or to have been his counsellor, or to be able to comprehend the ways of divine Providence. God's judgments are a great deep, but we must be wilfully blind, if we cannot see that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this.

The discovery and the conquest of America, with the amazing desolations wrought therein, appear a more remarkable event than any other in all profane history, since the universal deluge. A new world, as it was justly called, discovered to the other, or rather to Europe, and all its riches and glory overturned, and given away to another people, and the aboriginal natives, by famine, sword and pestilence, destroyed and wasted away by millions throughout all America! Who can tell how, or how long it had been inhabited, and by what a series of iniquity, it was ripe for such a fearful desolation, such an utter destruction! If we believe a Providence (and 'tis impossible we can believe

none) we must needs think it concerned, in the preservation, and the punishment of kingdoms and nations, and that these parts of the world, though separated, hid and unknown to the rest, are yet as near the omnipresence of God, and as much under his government as any other. And therefore we should take notice of the wonderful providence of God in this great affair. How should we learn to submit our little personal affairs to the Divine Providence, when we see that nations, before Him, are but as the small dust of the balance? And how justly may we say, great and marvellous are thy works, O Lord God Almighty; true and faithful are thy ways, and righteous are thy judgments, thou King of Saints; who shall not fear thee, and glorify thy name, for thou only art holy: Let all nations come and worship before thee, for thy judgments are made manifest. The Most High ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and giveth them to whomsoever he pleaseth.

Again, the settlement of New-England in particular was evidently providential, in many respects. I have mentioned often the prevailing motive with the people, who came first to plant and inhabit in this wilderness; but the difficulties and discouragements in their way were really many and very great, so that whoever reflects the least upon them, "must wonder so many were carried out from a flourishing State, to a wilderness so far

distant ; for (as one of them, Mr. Shepherd, of Cambridge—his life in the *Magnalia*—says) they were not all of them rash and weak spirited persons, inconsiderate of what they left behind, and were going to. It was not gain or riches they aimed at. When we look back (says he) and consider what a strange poise of spirit God had laid on many of our hearts, we cannot but wonder at ourselves, that so many, and some so weak and tender, with such cheerfulness and constant resolution, against so many persuasions of friends, and discouragements from the ill reports of the country, and the straits, and wants, and trials of God's people in it, yet should leave our accommodations and comforts, forsake our dearest relations, overlook all the dangers and difficulties of the vast sea, and all this to go into a wilderness, where we could forecast nothing but care and temptations, only in hopes to enjoy Christ in his ordinances, and the fellowship of his people."

Moreover, as these people came not here for plunder, which drew over the Spaniards to the southward, neither did they settle themselves by force or by their own might ; but God was pleased to make ready a place prepared as an asylum for them : And since he has wonderfully driven out and consumed the natives by his devouring judgments, their sins have proved their punishment ; and their detestable vices have drawn on those



mortal sicknesses, which have wasted away all within the English pale, but a few who remain embraced Christianity, or who, by submitting to the English power, remain the memorials of these wonderful events. It is true, the Indian jealousy and revenge prevented a union among their several clans at first, and made them instrumental in the destruction of one another, and the English had great advantages in their arms; but still the Indians vastly out-numbered them; were more able to endure fatigue and hardships, hunger and travel; and were perfectly acquainted with their own country. However, a remarkable interposition of Providence was visible in some of the earliest, and other the most important enterprises against them; and it would be unjust not to give to God the glory due to his name: The Lord is King forever, and the Heathen are perished out of the land! As, therefore, God hath planted this people, and not their own skill or power, so neither let them imagine it was for their merits and deserts. We know not the secret and future designs of Providence. Only let us remember, that He who chastiseth the Heathen, will also correct those who are called by his name, if they turn to folly.

Again, it is remarkable how Divine Providence was pleased to supply their wants in a wilderness, among a people that never took care for the morrow; and to support them under the distresses

they were tried with. At Plymouth and Charlestown, many died at first, for want of necessaries and conveniences ; but, afterwards, it was many years before any sickness prevailed amongst the planters. And though they have often since been visited with sore calamities, and wasting sicknesses, yet their numbers have continually increased to a very great degree ; while the natives have been wasted away by the same diseases, and some other infectious distempers, from which the English have been providentially delivered.\* I cannot help observing, here, the very great age to which many of the first settlers of this Colony lived. Many of them, through all the difficulties and hardships of a new plantation, lived here near and some above forty years, and some above sixty.† Remarkable

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\* Thus I am informed by a worthy gentleman, that an Indian, coming in from sea, sick of an uncommon fever, infected his acquaintance, and they propagated the disease to others, and a very great mortality ensued among the Indians, in Narhaganset ; while the English were preserved from the infection.

† Many of the original settlers of the Colony, lived through all the dangers and difficulties of their new settlement, above forty years. Particularly Mr. Wm. Arnold, Mr. J. Greene, &c., who came up the first year with Mr. Williams ; Mr. Harris, Mr. Olney, &c., who came soon after. Mr. Williams himself lived till about 1682, when he was buried with all the solemnity the Colony was able to

was the care of Divine Providence in preserving them from famine in a new country, where it was some time before they could be enabled to provide

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shew. Gov. Arnold, who came up a man grown, the first winter, died a few months before Gov. Coddington in 1678. At Warwick, Mr. Weekes was slain by the Indians, 1675, a very ancient man; and Mr. Gorton, Mr. Holden, &c., survived the war, and some of them, many years. Particularly Major J. Greene, who came a youth to Providence in 1634-5,\* and was a Commissioner for Providence the first Assembly after the Patent in 1647; was Deputy Governor of the Colony, 1700, as he had been many times before. Here at Newport, several of those who incorporated themselves, 1637-8, and of those who came to them the summer following, survived the Indian war. Mr. John Clark lived to the 20th of April, 1676. Gov. Brenton died in 1674. Mr. N. Easton, who came, 1638, from Hampton, where he built the first English house, as he did also in 1639 in Newport, lived to 1675, when he died a very ancient man. His son, Mr. John Easton, who, as his father, was divers times Governor of the Colony, died 1705, in his eighty-fifth year. Mr. H. Bull, one of the eighteen that incorporated themselves at the first, was Governor of the Colony after the Revolution. Mr. Ed. Thurston, who was Assistant, 1675, and many times Deputy for Newport, died 1706-7, aged ninety years. Many such instances might be given. And many of the second generation, such, I mean, as were born within the first twenty or twenty-five years, reached

\* This date should be 1635-6, or as we should now write 1636. See p. 73, note.—*Editor.*

for their comfortable subsistence. God was pleased to bless their provision, and satisfy his poor with food.\*

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to fourscore, and some to ninety years. If we consider the long lives of so many of the first comers, notwithstanding the hardships and distresses they underwent, and the change of climate, diet, &c., and to this add the great age of many of their children, we cannot call the country unhealthy, or the inhabitants short lived. The proportion of ancient people above seventy years of age, to the whole number of the present inhabitants, compared with the like proportion in other countries, which have been fully settled and inhabited above a thousand years, can be no good rule to judge by. Eighty years ago, the whole number of the inhabitants, and consequently of the births here, was very small, perhaps there were fewer than two hundred families in the whole Colony. And the number of inhabitants in this town has vastly increased the last thirty years. Let me further add, that the foresaid rule will not be applicable to this Colony a great while hence, if ever; because so many of the natives die in the West-India Islands. It is certain, a very great proportion who die between sixteen and thirty-six, are lost at sea, or die in those Islands, or bring home from thence those diseases which soon prove fatal to them here; though it is notorious how conducive to the recovery of health, a voyage from those Islands to the northern plantations is generally found, so that we have almost always some or other of their inhabitants here for that end.

\* January 22, 1639, it was found that there were but one hundred and eight bushels of corn to supply ninety-six

II. We must remark, (however it will sound in the ears of many) that this Colony was a settlement and plantation for religion and conscience sake. The first comers came on this account; their brethren may have said many hard things of them, in their haste; but it is certain the first planters of this Colony, and Island, fled not from religion, order, or good government, but to have liberty to worship God, and enjoy their own religious opinions and belief. They left England for the same reasons, and with the same views as the rest; and they left the Massachusetts, as they thought, on the like account, and came here to pursue and effect the ends of their first removal into America.

I know well what account the New English historians give of that set of men; but we must remember they were parties, and wrote by way of apology, or to vindicate themselves from the charge of persecution, or error and heresy, both alike odious. Now if it be considered what account contending parties usually give of each other, and in what a light, and with what colors they usually re-

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persons: which, at the proportion of one bushel and half a peck to each, was not more than sufficient to supply them for six weeks, and yet it was then more than so many months to harvest. But there was plenty of fish, and fowl, and venison; and, soon after, even to this day, all the necessaries of life have been plentiful.



present their adversaries, no one will charge me with any design to reflect on those gentlemen, whose memory is so highly regarded in the other New-English Colonies, if I beg leave to question and suspect the ill character they have fastened on those poor people, some of whom have expressed a deep resentment of the injury and wrong that was done them by the historians of the other party. Whoever considers the character those writers give of all other sects and parties of Christians, and the character some other parties give of them, will be apt to think that both sides are to be read with allowance for their respective prejudices. I say, whoever considers the character the contending parties of Christians almost forever give, not only of each other's tenets or opinions, but of their conduct, especially in so far as relates to the support or spreading their opinions; not only the Papists of the Protestants, but the Protestants of one another, particularly the Lutherans of the Calvinists: (*Hornbeck; Summ.*) Whoever considers how common it is for personal reflections to mix with solemn debates, on the highest and most awful doctrines, as well as the least and most indifferent: I say, whoever considers these things, will readily acknowledge we are not to take the character of any sect or person, barely from the description of known adversaries; especially when the description doth itself imply many circumstances, which carry the strongest grounds of suspicion with them.

If there be any thing in that observation, "that the nature and import of the questions, about which the difference began, and the zeal wherewith they were handled, intimate something of the holy temper prevailing among the body of the people;" (*Magnalia*) I desire it may be considered, that those persons were in repute with the very best, for holiness and zeal, before this unhappy contention. Moreover, it must be remembered that the points about which they were charged with error, are of such a nature, as that a person's sentiments may be easily mistaken and misrepresented. It was long before the Church at Boston could have any evidence of their holding those opinions, which that Church condemned; the witnesses at the last were parties, and transported with zeal. It is not doubted there was some difference in their opinions, at least in their expressions; but there is much ground to doubt, whether any of them held all the opinions condemned in the synod, and that few of them held many of those harsh consequences which their adversaries drew from their tenets. Besides, much the greater number were never censured at all, but (as I observed before) considered as brethren, long after their coming here.

We cannot reasonably suppose that they directly forgot or neglected the sole end of their removal, but as they followed that church order they judged most agreeable to the will of God, and professed

those opinions and articles of belief they thought God had revealed, so we must charitably judge, the life of religion and the love and fear of God did not go out and vanish away, on their leaving all, for his namesake and the gospel, i. e. the liberty to worship Him according to their consciences. And yet all the other Colonies will be obliged to own, that the trials and temptations of a wilderness had some unhappy effects on many who had shewn great zeal about religion.

However, while we are contemplating the occasion of our settlement, and the ends and views of our pious ancestors, when we find that religion and conscience began the Colony, it is natural, it is necessary to reflect and consider how these ends are answered by their posterity at present. Our fathers bore the heat and burden of the day; and though Providence gave them a pleasant and fruitful land,\* the garden of New-England, yet

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\* Mr. Neale justly observes, (p. 595,) this Island, which is about fourteen or fifteen miles long, and about four or five miles broad, (though of unequal breadth,) is deservedly esteemed the Paradise of New-England, for the fruitfulness of the soil, and the temperateness of the climate; that though it be not above sixty-five miles south of Boston, is a coat warmer in winter, and being surrounded by the ocean is not so much affected in summer with the hot land breezes, as the towns on the continent." Let me add, we have, all summer, a south or

the subduing and cultivating a wilderness, was a tedious and a laborious business, and necessarily attended with many hardships, straits and difficulties. Their posterity possess the fruit of their labor, and should think themselves obliged to fulfil the pious ends of our plantation. God justly expects that we fear the Lord our God, and love him, and walk in his ways, and serve him with all our heart. It seems that pure religion and true godliness is what we, in a most peculiar manner, owe to God, as the very quit-rents of our lands, and an acknowledgment of the merciful providences in our first settlement; as well as for the constant favors of God to us ever since.

The posterity of a people, who were guided by

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southwesterly sea breeze, almost every day, which rises about 10 A. M., and wonderfully cools the air. And by reason of southeasterly sea breezes, in the spring, the summer does not come on so quick as at Boston, though the winter usually breaks up sooner.—Here let me be permitted to offer a correction of a vulgar error, about the reason of the cold of New-England winters, which is so very much greater than in the European countries in the same latitudes. The Lakes usually bear the blame of our cold northwest winds, but by a map of the country of the five nations, and of the Lakes, &c., published at New-York by authority, and said to be taken from a map of Louisiana, done by Mr. De Lisle in 1718, it appears that all the Lakes, except the Lake Champlain, are considerably

the providence of God to this happy Island, as a safe retreat from the stormy winds, as a place of freedom to practise every branch of religion in, must be inexcusable, if they degenerate and forget the God of their fathers. The very instrument of our original incorporation, obliges us to "serve God and Jesus Christ, and obey all his holy laws." Irreligion, then, and profaneness and immorality, must be a peculiar reproach to such a people. Our fathers will rise up in judgment against, and condemn their degenerate offspring, and the God of our fathers will cast us off forever, if we do not practise that sobriety, righteousness and godliness, which his gospel requires, and we are under so many peculiar obligations to observe. Nay, it will

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to the westward of the northwest point, from this town. The chief of these vast Lakes are northwest from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia. All the great Lakes are west from Albany, as the Council of New-York seem to assert; and Albany is, as I suppose, nearer west from Boston than north-west. Besides, it is credibly reported by intelligent persons, most conversant in those regions, that at the most eastern of the Lakes, the winds are usually easterly in those months when we are frozen with north-west winds. Perhaps as our distance from the equator occasions the long draft of winds from north-west, so the vast body of lands, uncultivated, and covered with a perpetual forest, which breaks the rays of the sun, and prevents their reflection from the earth, is what occasions those winds to be so very cold here.



be more tolerable for the Pequots, the Wampanoags, the Narragansets, in the day of judgment, than for such of us as obey not the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. It is true, the Indian nations did obstinately refuse the gospel, but they knew not what they did; they did it ignorantly, and in unbelief, while we have known our master's will; and to whom much is given, of them much will be required. As we have been, as it were, lifted up to Heaven with privileges, our fall will be so much the greater in the bottomless pit, unless we lay hold on eternal life.

If our neighbors observe the manners of the inhabitants are reformed in any instances, formerly grievous to them, let us endeavor to reform whatever is still really amiss among us, and put away the evil of our doings, that the Lord God may dwell among us. May we be noted only, and ever, for the general discharge of all public and private virtues, for the impartial administration of justice, and the steady execution of good and wholesome laws, and for leading quiet and peaceable lives, in all godliness and honesty.

It is an old and common observation, that the stature and complexion\* of human creatures, as

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\*In like manner some diseases are peculiar to every country; perhaps we may this way account for what has

well as of plants and animals, yea, and the genius and dispositions of a people, are very much influenced by the soil and climate; by the situation, the nature and circumstances of the place they inhabit. Thus, the inhabitants of the several parts of Italy, of Germany, &c., are characterised from their respective countries; and thus it was observed of the Carthagenians. The peculiar genius and dispositions of a people must arise from hence, or the form of government and laws they live under, or the genius of the present chief commanders. The Narragansets, who inhabited this tract of land before us, were not remarkable among the Indians for many vices peculiar to them,\* only that in proportion to their greater populousness, they exceeded in the vices common to all the Indian nations. Idleness and intemperance are every where branded as Indian vices; and they were complained of, as shamefully negligent in the education of their children, and that they had in a manner

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been, in vain, attempted to be accounted for so many other ways, viz. the defective teeth so common in New-England. Mr. R. Williams says, that when he first came here, the Indians were vastly subject to the tooth-ach, and that their very stoutest men complained more of that pain, than their women of the pains of travail.

\* Mr. Hubbard says, p. 3: "The Narhagansets were always more civil and courteous to the English, than any of the other Indians."

no family government at all. Though the face of the country is greatly changed by English industry, and an almost immense labor and expense, yet a plentiful country will always afford its inhabitants inducements and temptations to abuse the divine goodness, and to turn the grace of God into wantonness. If, instead of having been able to teach the Indians Christian virtues, we should learn and imitate the Indian vices, how unhappy, how reproachful, how lamentable would it be? Surely, we must think God expects more from us, with all our advantages of knowledge, with the gospel, the word of God; which is able to make us wise to salvation, through faith that is in Christ Jesus. We have not only the light of reason, brightened and improved, but revelation, to be as a guide to us. Let us make the scriptures, then, as a light to our feet, and a lamp to our path.

And in fine, let every sect and party of Christians among us, be followers of God as dear children. Let us be careful to build only gold, silver, precious stones, on the rock of ages, the true foundation of our faith and hope. Let us walk worthy of God to all well pleasing, and adorn the Christian religion in general, in the sight of the Heathen; and recommend our distinguishing opinions to one another, by a more exemplary behavior, and so induce others to glorify God our Heavenly Father.

III. Liberty of conscience was the basis of this Colony. Our fathers thought it just and necessary to allow each other mutually to worship God as their consciences were respectively persuaded. They thought no man had power over the spirit of God, and that the duty of the magistrate was to leave every one to follow the light of his conscience. They were willing to exhibit to the world, an instance that liberty of conscience was consistent with the public peace, and the flourishing of a civil Commonwealth, as well as that Christianity could subsist without compulsion, and that bearing each other's burdens was the way to fulfil the law of Christ.

I do not know there was ever before, since the world came into the Church, such an instance, as the settlement of this Colony and Island. In other States, the civil magistrate had forever a public driving in the particular schemes of faith, and modes of worship; at least, by negative discouragements, by annexing the rewards of honor and profit to his own opinions; and generally, the subject was bound by penal laws, to believe that set of doctrines, and to worship God in that manner, the magistrate pleased to prescribe. Christian magistrates would unaccountably assume to themselves the same authority in religious affairs, which any of the Kings of Judah, or Israel, exercised, either by usurpation, or by the immediate will and in-

spiration of God, and a great deal more too. As if the becoming Christian gave the magistrate any new right or authority over his subjects, or over the Church of Christ; and as if that because they submitted personally to the authority and government of Christ in his word, that therefore they might clothe themselves with his authority; or rather, take his sceptre out of his hand, and lord it over God's heritage. It is lamentable that pagans and infidels allow more liberty to Christians, than they were wont to allow to one another. It is evident, the civil magistrate, as such, can have no authority to decree articles of faith, and to determine modes of worship, and to interpret the laws of Christ for his subjects, but what must belong to all magistrates; but no magistrate can have more authority over conscience, than what is necessary to preserve the public peace, and that can be only to prevent one sect from oppressing another, and to keep the peace between them. Nothing can be more evidently proved, than "the right of private judgment for every man, in the affairs of his own salvation," and that both from the plainest principles of reason, and the plainest declarations of the scripture. This is the foundation of the Reformation, of the Christian religion, of all religion, which necessarily implies choice and judgment. But I need not labor a point, that has been so often demonstrated so many ways. Indeed, as every man believes his own opinions the best, because



the truest, and ought charitably to wish all others of the same opinion, it must seem reasonable the magistrate should have a public leading in religious affairs, but as he almost forever exceeds the due bounds, and as error prevails ten times more than truth in the world, the interest of truth and the right of private judgment seem better secured, by a universal toleration that shall suppress all profaneness and immorality, and preserve every party in the free and undisturbed liberty of their consciences, while they continue quiet and dutiful subjects to the State.

Our fathers established a mutual liberty of conscience, when they first incorporated themselves : this they confirmed under their first Patent, and, at the Restoration, they petitioned King Charles II. (*Charter*) "That they might be permitted to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil State may stand, and best be maintained, and that among English subjects, with a full liberty in religious concernments, and that true piety, rightly grounded on gospel principles, will give the best and the greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty." And the King was pleased to make them a grant, by which "every person may ever freely and fully have and enjoy his own judgment or conscience in matters of religious concernment, behaving himself peaceably and quietly, and

not using this liberty for licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others." This happy privilege we enjoy to this day, through the divine goodness; and the experiment has fully answered, and even beyond what might have been expected from the first attempt. The civil State has flourished, as well as if secured by ever so many penal laws, and an inquisition to put them in execution. Our civil officers have been chosen out of every religious society,\* and the public peace has been as well preserved, and the public councils as well conducted, as we could have expected, had we been assisted by ever so many religious tests.

All profaneness and immorality are punished by the laws made to suppress them; and while these laws are well executed, speculative opinions or

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\* It has been no uncommon sight to see gentlemen of almost every religious persuasion among us, sitting on the same bench of magistrates together. And we may always expect to see it, while that principle prevails, that the surest way to preserve and enjoy our Charter privileges, is so to divide the posts of honor, trust and profit among all persuasions indifferently; and, in general, to prefer those gentlemen, of whatever religious opinions they are, that are otherwise best qualified to serve the public, and adorn their stations, and to suffer no one religious sect to monopolize the places of power and authority.

modes of worship can never disturb or injure the peace of a State that allows all its subjects an equal liberty of conscience. Indeed, it is not variety of opinions, or separation in worship, that makes disorders and confusions in government. It is the unjust, unnatural, and absurd attempt to force all to be of one opinion, or to feign and dissemble that they are; or the cruel and impious punishing those, who cannot change their opinions without light or reason, and will not dissemble against all reason and conscience. It is the wicked attempt to force men to worship God in a way they believe He hath neither commanded nor will accept; and the restraining them from worshipping Him in a method they think He has instituted and made necessary for them, and in which alone they can be sincere worshippers, and accepted of God; in which alone, they can find comfort and peace of conscience, and approve themselves before God; in which alone, they can be honest men and good Christians. Persecution will ever occasion confusion and disorder, or if every tongue is forced to confess, and every knee to bow to the power of the sword: this itself is the greatest of all disorders, and the worst of confusions in the Kingdom of Christ Jesus.

Liberty of conscience was never more fully enjoyed in any place, than here; and this Colony, with some since formed on the same model, have

proved that the terrible fears that barbarity would break in, where no particular forms of worship or discipline are established by the civil power, are really vain and groundless ;\* and that Christianity can subsist without a national Church, or visible Head, and without being incorporated into the State. It subsisted so for the first three hundred years ; yea, in opposition and defiance to all the powers of hell and earth. And it is amazing to hear those who plead for penal laws, and the magistrate's right and duty to govern the Church of Christ, to hear such persons call those early times the golden age of Christianity.

However, as the best things, the wisest institutions are subject to some inconveniences, while some good may accidentally follow the very worst things in the world, it may be worth our while to consider, whether some inconveniences do not naturally, or have not in fact, followed or attended our constitution. The Popish Inquisition itself, which is such an open tyranny over conscience, and such an absolute destruction of the essentials of Christianity and all true religion, yet keeps up

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\* I am aware some such charges of ignorance and barbarity have been formerly insinuated, and that the people lived in a state of anarchy ; but I hope I have said enough to shew the groundlessness of such reports, which were the effects of prejudice and misinformation.

the face and shew of the greatest decorum, order and harmony imaginable. It ought not to be wondered at, if an unlimited toleration of every doctrine or form of Christian worship, though never so just in itself, and so useful and beneficial in many respects, yet in some other respects may be attended with or productive of some inconveniences. We know some followed on the gospel itself. It cannot be wondered at, if some should make an ill use of this liberty; yea, if this liberty itself should be unhappily a snare to some men. Have never any, in no parts of the Colony, appeared lost and bewildered in a variety of opinions round them? At least, is it not likely there should be some persons so weak and unstable? Have never any pretended to think it needless or endless to search after truth, among so many pretenders to it? And have not some, in the heat and hurry of dispute about the circumstantial of Christianity, the circumstances of order, time, and place, grown cold or negligent about the vitals and essentials of the gospel covenant? Hath not too much zeal about outward things, too often occasioned censoriousness and uncharitableness, and starved the life of religion? Is there no foundation for that character that has been given of too many among us, that "they have a thorough indifference for all that is sacred, being equally careless of outward worship, and of inward principles, whether of faith or practice." And "that they have worn off a serious sense of all religion."



It would be no wonder if some or all these evil consequences should have followed, in some degree; they have often done so in other places, even where there was not the like fair occasion. The tempter always suits his temptations to the circumstances of those he assaults. But these things will be no good objection against liberty of conscience, because infinitely greater evils necessarily follow on persecution for conscience sake.

Nevertheless, our own experience, or the observations and reproaches of others, will dispose us to be peculiarly careful against all these evils, and some others, that our constitution may be peculiarly liable and exposed to. Here in a particular manner, let us be exhorted,

1. To prevent our religious differences from being ever carried into our civil affairs. Let them never make factions in government.

2. Let us study for peace, and to promote mutual love among Christians of every denomination. We should love all of Christ we see in them, and as far as possible speak the same things. On the one hand, we should take heed that charity and mutual forbearance do not sink into lukewarmness and indifference to the truth of the divine institutions; and, on the other hand, we should maintain our own opinions, and manage the defence of them,

when need requires it, with a Christian spirit of candor and moderation. Especially let us be warned by our own history, to take heed of imputing to others, the consequences we think follow from their opinions; if, on the account of those consequences, we cannot embrace their opinions, yet let us remember every man's opinion must be taken from his own understanding and judgment, and not from the understanding and judgment of other men.

It is no pleasure to any real Christian to see his brethren, the disciples of Jesus Christ, so divided as they are through the world, in their opinions of various articles of his religion; and much less, to see them so divided in their affections. Indeed, considering the finite capacity, and the corruption of human nature, we ought to expect a variety of opinions in religion, as well as in every thing else. But as the enemies to the cross of Christ make this, though unjustly, a reproach to Christianity, and as many weak persons are carried away with the errors of the wicked, every sincere Christian cannot help wishing that every stumbling block and rock of offence was removed out of the way, and that all Christians walked in the truth with one consent of heart and voice. It is a grief to a Christian, as it is a scandal to the whole world, to see Christians (so called) full of envy and malice, hating and reviling one another, and smiting with

the fist of wickedness. This, when all is said and done, is a more full and just argument, that such have no part in Christ, than any supposed orthodoxy of opinion can be of their interest in Him. For by this (says he) shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another. It is a glorious sight to see the disciples of Jesus live in love and peace, and “sweetly bear with one another in their lesser differences;” to see every one keeping the ordinances, as he thinks Christ has commanded him, and at the same time carefully abstaining from all evil, and the appearances of evil, and practicing whatsoever things are true, honest, just, and pure; whatsoever things are lovely and of good report.

When we have freedom to search the scripture, and liberty to believe, and profess what we find there revealed, how unhappy would it be, if any should neglect their privilege, and be fools and slow of heart to improve the opportunity they enjoy? How unhappy would it be, if any should neglect the worship of God and the institutions of Christ Jesus, because they are not enforced by human penal laws? Let us be all able ever to give an answer to every one that asks us a reason of the hope that is in us, with meekness and fear; and let us lay aside all wrath, anger, malice, bigotry and censoriousness, and endeavor to pay a universal and constant regard to the will of God, revealed in

his word. Let us be united to Christ Jesus by a true and living faith, and let every man take heed how he buildeth : Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, viz. the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the great corner stone. Now if any man build on this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble; every man's work shall be made manifest. For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire, and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is. If any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss; but he himself shall be saved; yet so, as by fire.

3. Above all things, let us unite in the practice of piety and holiness. Let us do justly, and love mercy, and walk humbly with God; let us deny all ungodliness, and every worldly lust, and live soberly, righteously, and godly, and perfect holiness in the fear of God. These things we may do without any offence to any party of Christians. If we be followers of that which is good, who are they that will harm us, or be offended at us, on that account. Each party requires all men to be redeemed from a vain conversation; every party owns the necessity, if they differ in the nature of the obligation, of these duties : Let us then unite in the practice of them, and have our conversation as becometh the gospel, which we in common profess. How unhappy, how inexcusable, would it be, if

liberty of conscience should degenerate into licentiousness, and open a door for a flood of immoralities? If, while we plead a right to think and judge for ourselves, and reject all mere human authority in matters of faith and worship, we should neglect the sacred laws of God, and the unalterable and eternal duties of morality? It is certainly a reproach to Christians, that they can be so zealously affected about the things which are peculiar and distinguishing to each sect respectively, and yet be so cold and negligent of those wherein they all agree. It is reasonable to suppose, those doctrines and duties which all agree in, are the most important and essential. Let us then be truly concerned to glorify and serve God, by a true and spiritual worship, and the virtues of a good life, and to imitate the example which the great author and finisher of our faith hath set us. Let us hold fast the form of sound words we have received, and not make shipwreck of faith and a good conscience.

IV. I hope I shall be excused, if on this occasion I exhort the members of this Church in particular, to review the merciful providences of God, which have hitherto preserved this vine, which we trust his own right hand hath planted. We may sing of judgment and of mercy, in many sore losses and bereavements, in some uncomfortable contentions, and in a total failure of elders, for many years together. Nevertheless, the burning bush



has not been consumed ; the Church has still subsisted, and been resettled again in peace and comfort. Various are the storms in which this Church has been tossed ; but, through them all, God has preserved us. May we, and our successors, be as a name and a praise to Him, throughout all generations ! Let us pray the Father of lights, and the Lord of the harvest, to revive and prosper his work in the midst of these years. May He unite our hearts to love Him more, and serve Him better ; and to love one another, and strive together to promote his glory, and our mutual edification and growth in grace. May he that ministereth seed to the sower, both minister bread for your food and multiply the seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness.

As this was the first Society settled in church order on this Island, as it is the eldest, (though nearly the least,) let us strive to go before all others in the primitive simplicity, love, integrity, and public spiritedness.

Let us consider, whether we make good the ground of those pious and excellent Christians, who first formed this Church ; and whether the successors of men so holy and so zealous, are not obliged in a singular manner to imitate them, wherein they followed Christ. We have professed a subjection to the gospel of Christ ; let our lights shine before

men, let us adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things; and let us hold the beginning of our confidence steadfast to the end, and let us consider one another, to provoke unto love and to good works: In fine, let us contend earnestly for the faith and order of the gospel, once delivered to the saints; and, at the same time, maintain the unity of the spirit in the bonds of peace. Him that is weak in the faith receive, but not to doubtful disputations. And the God of patience and consolation grant us to be like minded one towards another, according to Christ Jesus.

V. Is it not proper to remark the very great alteration which the merciful providence of God has made, in the outward circumstances and accommodations of the inhabitants of the Island and Colony, since their first settlement here?

We have reason to think, the very first settlers did not come here empty handed;\* but as their stock, on which they lived, was by degrees consumed, the produce of wild lands was able to go but a little way in purchasing a new supply of many comforts of life; and they were obliged to make an hard shift with such things as the present generation perhaps may too much despise. I do

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\* Vid. Mr. Cotton's way of Congregational Churches cleared, p. 61.

not well know how to describe the difference in some articles, in suitable and grave expressions : the mention of some instances would perhaps surprise many. Let us then be thankful to God, who has blessed the labors of our hands ; and let us not wax fat and kick against God, now we have eaten, and are full of the mercies of the Lord.

Nay, would it be unuseful or improper to think of the outward accommodations which the present English inhabitants enjoy, above the aboriginal natives, and their miserable remainders among us? Doubtless, it would excite our gratitude to God, who has made us to differ, and to say with David, blessed be thou, Lord God of Israel, our father, for ever and ever. Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the victory, and the majesty, for all that is in the heaven, or in the earth, is thine. Thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honor come of thee, and thou reignest over all ; and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all. Now, therefore, our God, we thank thee, and praise thy glorious name !

VI. Lastly. As the pious people who first planted this Island and Colony, were so concerned about the best way of evidencing a man's good estate, methinks there is no more proper remark for us to

finish with, than the duty, the wisdom, and the necessity of every one, to get into a good estate as to God and the future world, and to seek after sufficient and satisfactory evidence thereof.

I mean not to revive the old dispute ; I am well satisfied, the difference may be compromised with great ease and justice ; but to persuade each of us to think of this article with seriousness, and suitable concern. What will it signify, which of those ways is the most satisfactory, if we ourselves have no grounds for satisfaction, in either of them ? And what can excuse us neglecting to work out our salvation, and make our calling and election sure, when God is working in us to will, and to do, of his good pleasure ? Alas ! how very common is it for persons, who live under the gospel, to be very careless and unconcerned in this matter ? for many who call themselves Christians, to presume they are something, when indeed they are nothing ? and cry peace, peace to themselves, when they are in the gall of bitterness, and the bonds of iniquity, and have no lot or part in the Christian salvation ?

A man's good estate consists in his being reconciled to God through Jesus Christ, who was delivered for our offences, and raised again for our justification. Let us aim to have both the testimony of our own consciences and the spirit of God witnessing together with our spirit, that we are the

children of God, and heirs, with Christ, to the inheritance of the saints in light. And may He that is able, keep us from falling, and present us faultless before his presence with exceeding joy.

To conclude, should not this solemnity put us in mind of our mortal, transitory condition, and so stir us up the more to give diligence to make our calling and election sure. The generations of men are passing away continually. Not one person, that we know of, is now alive, of all those who began this settlement, and but few remain of the second generation. Death is daily preying upon us. Should we not then be the more quickened in the securing our eternal welfare? Should we not do with our might, what our hands find to do, before the night of death overtakes us?

Let us remember we are strangers and pilgrims here, as were all our fathers; and let us seek after a city which is to come, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. And let us be followers of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises.

Let this occasion, an occasion we can never expect again, excite us to number our days aright, so as to apply our hearts to true wisdom. May we so prepare for death and judgment, and the eternal world, as that an entrance may be at last ad-



ministered to us into the everlasting Kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: Which God of his infinite mercy grant through Him: To whom with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be all honor, glory and power, both now and ever. AMEN.

NOTE.—The Editor has taken the liberty to substitute for the orthography of the original text, the more familiar and intelligible orthography of the present day, and likewise to correct the punctuation, when necessary to render obvious the meaning of the author.

## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.—[p. 54.]

REV. THOMAS PRINCE, A. M., the author of the work alluded to, page 54, was Pastor of the Old South Church in Boston. He was born at Sandwich, Massachusetts, May 15, 1687, and was graduated at Harvard College, in 1707. He visited England, in 1709, and for several years preached at Combs in Suffolk, where he was earnestly solicited to remain; but his attachment to his native land induced him to return, in 1717. He was ordained as colleague with Dr. Sewall, his classmate, October 1, 1718. He died, October 22, 1758, aged seventy-one. He was eminent as a preacher, and distinguished for his intellectual attainments and Christian virtues. In the opinion of Dr. Chauncey, no one in New-England had more learning, except Cotton Mather. Besides many other works, he published a *Chronological History of New-England*, in the form of annals, 12 mo. 1736, and three numbers of the second volume, in 1755. The value of this book was not sufficiently appreciated at the

time of its publication. Mr. Callender, who, in the opinion of the learned Dr. Eliot, was one of the first men of that generation, thus expresses his commendation of this book, in a letter, dated Newport, April 4, 1739.

“It gives me great concern, that Mr. *Prince's* Chronology has been so ill received. I look on it as an honor to the country as well as to the author, and doubt not but posterity will do him justice. But that, you will say, is too late. Some of the very best books have had the same fate in other places and other ages. I need not tell you of Milton, Raleigh, &c. I wish, for *his sake*, he had taken less pains to serve an ungrateful and injudicious age, lest it should discourage his going on with his design. I hope it will not, and hope you will encourage him, for, sooner or later, the country will see the advantage of his work and their obligations to him.”

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## No. II.—[p. 59.]

### *Ante-Columbian Discoveries.*

An Icelandic historian, Torfæus, has claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the new world.\* A learned work has recently been

\* Torfæi Historia Vinlandiæ Antiquæ, Hafniæ, 1705. See Wheaton's History of the Northmen, p. 22-28. Belknap's Am. Biog. 1. 47-58. Examen critique de l' Histoire, &c., par Alexandre de Humbolt.

published by the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, giving an account of the voyages made to America by the Scandinavian Northmen, during the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The accounts of these early voyages are published from authentic manuscripts, which date back as far as the *tenth* century. The work is entitled "*Antiquitates Americanæ sive Scriptores Septentrionales Rerum Ante-Columbianarum in America. Hafniæ, 1837.*" It is published in the original Icelandic, and is accompanied by a Danish, and also by a complete Latin translation. It is a work of vast labor and research, and is one of the most interesting and valuable publications relative to the history of our country, which has issued from the press. From this work, it appears that the ancient Northmen explored a great extent of the eastern coasts of North America; repeatedly visited many places in Massachusetts and Rhode-Island; fought and traded with the natives; and attempted to establish colonies. The most northerly region was called *Helluland*, (Slateland;) further south *Markland*, (Woodland;) and further south still, *Vinland*, (Vineland,) which is supposed to have extended as far as Massachusetts and Rhode-Island. It is the opinion of the learned and indefatigable editor of the *Antiquitates Americanæ*, Professor C. C. Rafn, and his erudite associate, Professor Finn Magnussen, that the celebrated inscription on the

Dighton Rock was designed as an evidence of the occupancy of the country by the Northmen. This learned and interesting work deserves to be thoroughly studied by every American scholar who feels interested in his country's history.

That Columbus made a voyage to the north of Europe, in 1477, is evident from the following passage, extracted by his son from one of his letters.

“In the year 1477, in February, I navigated one hundred leagues beyond Thule, the southern part of which is seventy-three degrees distant from the equator, and not sixty-three, as some pretend ; neither is it included within the line which includes the west of Ptolemy, but is much more westerly. The English, principally those of Bristol, go with their merchandise to this Island, which is as large as England. When I was there, the sea was not frozen, and the tides were so great as to rise and fall twenty-six fathoms.”—*Hist. del Almirante*, C. 4. Vid. Irving's Columbus, vol. 1, p. 44.

The Island above mentioned as Thule, is generally, and, we think with justice, believed to have been Iceland. It appears from the correspondence of Columbus with the learned Paulo Toscanelli, of Florence, which took place in 1474, that he had expressed his intention of seeking a western route to India. We think it highly probable, however, that the knowledge of the previous discoveries of



the Scandinavian Northmen, obtained on his visit to Iceland, might have imparted to him a powerful influence in his great enterprise.

That America was discovered by the Northmen, before the time of Columbus, has long been the opinion of many learned men in our country. The following extract is contained in a letter from Dr. Franklin to Mr. Mather, dated London, July 7, 1773.

“You have,” says he, “made the most of your argument, to prove that America was known to the ancients. There is another discovery of it, claimed by the Norwegians, which you have not mentioned, unless it be under the words ‘of old viewed and observed,’ p. 7. About twenty-five years since, Professor Kalm, a learned Swede, was with us in Pennsylvania. He contended that America was discovered by their northern people, long before the time of Columbus; which I doubting, he drew up and gave me, some time after, a note of these discoveries, which I send you enclosed.”—*Frank. Works*, vol. 6, p. 77. See also Forster’s *Hist. of Discoveries in the North*. Robertson’s *Hist. of America*.

The learned Dr. Stiles, in his Election Sermon, published in the year 1783, speaks of “the certain colonization” of America “from Norway, A. D. 1001, as well as the certain christianizing of Greenland in the ninth century.” As President Stiles

was intimate with Dr. Franklin, he had probably seen the work of Torfæus, and the above account by Professor Kalm.

The curious reader will be pleased to see the whole passage in which Dr. Stiles, expresses his views with regard to the peopling of America.

“I rather consider the American Indians as Canaanites of the expulsion of Joshua: some of which in Phœnician ships coasted the Mediterranean to its mouth, as appears from an inscription which they left there. Procopius, who was born in Palestine, a master of the Phœnician and other oriental languages, and the historiographer of the great Belisarius, tells us, that at Tangier he saw and read an inscription upon two marble pillars there, in the ancient Phœnician (not the then modern Punic) letter, “We are they who have fled from the face of Joshua the robber, the son of Nun.”\* Bochart and Selden conjecture the very Punic itself. Plato, Ælian, and Diodorus Siculus narrate voyages into the Atlantic Ocean, thirty days west from the pillars of Hercules, to the Island of Atlas. This inscription examined by Procopius, suggests that the Canaanites, in coasting along from Tangier, might soon get into the trade winds, and be undesignedly wafted across the Atlantic, land in the tropical regions, and commence the settlements of Mexico and Peru. Another branch of

\* Ibi ex albis lapidibus constant COLUMNÆ DUÆ prope magnum fontem erectæ, Phœnicos habentes characteres insculptos, qui Phœnicum lingua sic sonant: NOS II SUMUS QUI PUGERUNT A FACIE JOSHUÆ PRÆDONIS FILII NUN.—Evag. hist. ecc. l. 4, c. 18. Procop. Vandalic. l. 2.

the Canaanitish expulsions might take the resolution of the ten tribes, and travel north-eastward to where never man dwelt, become the Tchuschi and Tungusi Tartars about Kamschatka and Tscukotskoinoss in the north-east of Asia: thence, by water, passing over from island to island through the northern Archipelago to America, become the scattered Sachemdoms of these northern regions. It is now known that Asia is separated by water from America, as certainly appears from the Baron Dulfeldt's voyage round the north of Europe into the Pacific Ocean, A. D. 1769. Amidst all the variety of national dialects, there reigns a similitude in their language, as there is also in complexion and beardless features, from Greenland to Del Fuego, and from the Antilles to Otaheite, which shew them to be one people.

“A few scattered accounts, collected and combined together, may lead us to two certain conclusions, 1. That all the American Indians are one kind of people. 2. That they are the same as the people in the north-east of Asia.

“An Asiatic territory, three thousand miles long and fifteen hundred wide, above the 40th degree of latitude, to the Hyperborean ocean, contains only one million of souls settled as our Indians; as appears from the numerations and estimates collected by M. Muller, and other Russian Academicians in 1769. The Koreki, Jakuhti and Tungusii living on the eastern part of this territory next to America, are naturally almost beardless, like the Samoieds in Siberia, the Ostiaks and Calmuks, as well as the American Indians: all these having also the same custom of plucking out the few hairs of very thin beards.

They have more similar usages and fewer dissimilar ones, than the Arabians of the Koreish tribe, and Jews who sprang from Abraham : or than those that subsist among the European nations, who sprang from one ancestor ; or those Asiatic nations, which sprang from Shem. The portrait painter, Mr. Smibert, who accompanied Dr. Berkeley, then Dean of Derry, and afterward Bishop of Cloyne, from Italy to America in 1728, was employed by the grand Duke of Tuscany, while at Florence, to paint two or three Siberian Tartars, presented to the Duke by the Czar of Russia. This Mr. Smibert, upon his landing at Narraganset Bay with Dr. Berkeley, instantly recognized the Indians here to be the same people as the Siberian Tartars whose pictures he had taken. Moravian Indians, from Greenland and South-America, have met those in our latitude at Bethlehem, and have been clearly perceived to be the same people. The Kamschatdale Tartars have been carried over from Asia to America, and compared with our Indians, and found to be the same people. These Asiatic Tartars, from whom the American aboriginals derived, are distinct from, and far less numerous than, the Mongul and other Tartars which, for ages, under Tamerlane and other chieftains, have deluged and over-ran the southern ancient Asiatic empires. Attending to the rational and just deductions, from these and other disconnected data combined together, we may perceive, that all the Americans are one people—that they came hither certainly from the north-east of Asia ; probably also from the Mediterranean ; and, if so, that they are Canaanites, though arriving hither by different routes. The ocean current from the north of Asia might waft the beardless Samoieds or Tchuschi from the mouth of Jene-

sea or the Oby, around Nova Zembla to Greenland, and thence to Labrador, many ages after the refugees from Joshua might have colonized the tropical regions. Thus Providence might have ordered three divisions of the same people from different parts of the world, and perhaps in very distant ages, to meet together on this continent, or 'our Island,' as the six nations call it, to settle different parts of it, many ages before the present accession of Japhet, or the former visitation of Madoc, 1001, or the certain colonization from Norway, A. D. 1001, as well as the certain christianizing of Greenland in the ninth century; not to mention the visit of still greater antiquity by the Phœnicians, who charged the Dighton rock and other rocks in Narraganset Bay with Punic inscriptions, remaining to this day. Which last I myself have repeatedly seen and taken off at large, as did Professor Sewall."—*President Stiles's Election Sermon, preached before the General Assembly of the State of Connecticut, at Hartford, May 8, 1783, p. 10-13.*

In confirmation of Dr. Stiles' views, it may be remarked that the aborigines of our country resemble the Asiatics, especially the *Tartars*, more than the inhabitants of any other part of the world. They have the same prominence of the cheek bones—their faces are broad at the forehead and narrowing to the chin. Both the Indians and the Tartars are accustomed to shave the head, and to leave only one tuft of hair to grow on the back of the skull. Both also worship the sun as a deity. We find that the aborigines were here when the



Scandinavian Northmen first landed on our shores ; but the narratives of their voyages give no information concerning their origin.

As President Stiles was for more than twenty years a resident and a distinguished ornament of Rhode-Island, a short biographical notice of him is here subjoined.

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EZRA STILES, D. D., LL. D., was the son of the Rev. Isaac Stiles, of North-Haven, Connecticut, and was born December 10, 1727. He graduated at Yale College in 1746, with the reputation of being one of the most accomplished scholars it had ever produced. In 1749, he was chosen one of its tutors, and in that station he remained six years. He was ordained pastor of the second Congregational Church, in Newport, R. I., the 22d of October, 1755, and continued the able, devoted, and highly esteemed minister of that Church, till he was elected President of Yale College, in 1777. He presided over that institution, with distinguished ability, till his death, May 12, 1795, in the sixty-eighth year of his age. President Stiles was one of the most learned men that our country has ever produced. As a scholar, he was familiar with every department of learning. He had a profound and critical knowledge of the Latin, Greek, French and

Hebrew languages; in the Samaritan, Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic he had made considerable progress; and he had bestowed some attention on the Persic and Coptic. He had a passion for history, and an intimate acquaintance with the rabbinical writings and with those of the fathers of the Christian Church. Dr. Stiles maintained an extensive literary correspondence with many eminent persons in remote quarters of the globe; and his name was enrolled as a member of several learned societies in his own and in foreign countries. As a preacher, he was impressive and eloquent; and the excellence of his sermons was enhanced by the energy of his delivery, and by the unction which pervaded them. His catholic spirit embraced good men of every nation, sect, and party. In the cause of civil and religious liberty he was enthusiastic. In his discourse on Christian Union, he says, "There ought to be no restrictions on the conscience of an honest and sober believer of revelation. The right of conscience and of private judgment is unalienable; and it is truly the interest of all mankind to unite themselves into one body, for the liberty, free exercise and unmolested enjoyment of this right, especially in religion. Not all the difference of sentiment, not all the erroneous opinions that have yet been started, afford just umbrage for its extinction, abridgement or embarrassment." p. 28.

The following appropriate remarks are from the pen of Chancellor Kent, one of Dr. Stiles' pupils.

“President Stiles’s zeal for civil and religious liberty, was kindled at the altar of the English and New-England Puritans, and it was animating and vivid. A more constant and devoted friend to the Revolution and Independence of this country, never existed. He had anticipated it as early as the year 1760, and his whole soul was enlisted in favor of every measure which led on gradually to the formation and establishment of the American Union. The frequent appeals he was accustomed to make to the heads and hearts of his pupils, concerning the slippery paths of youth; the grave duties of life; the responsibilities of man; and the perils, and hopes, and honors, and destiny of our country, will never be forgotten by those who heard them; and especially when he came to touch, as he often did, with ‘a master’s hand and prophet’s fire’ on the bright vision of the future prosperity and splendor of the United States. Take him for all in all, this extraordinary man was undoubtedly one of the purest and best gifted men of his age. In addition to his other eminent attainments, he was clothed with humility, with tenderness of heart, with disinterested kindness, and with the most artless simplicity. He was distinguished for the dignity of his deportment, the politeness of his address, and the urbanity of his manners. Though he was uncompromising in his belief and vindication of the great fundamental doctrines of the Protestant faith, he was nevertheless of the most catholic and charitable temper, resulting equally from the benevolence of his disposition

and the spirit of the gospel.”—*Kent’s Address delivered at New-Haven, before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, 1831.* See Holmes’s Life of President Stiles.

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No. III.—[p. 59.]

*Voyage of Verrazzano to America.*

January 17, 1524, Giovanni Verrazzano, a Florentine, in the service of Francis I., King of France, sailed from a desert rock near the Island of Madeira, in the ship *Dolphin*, to make discovery of new countries. He steered a westerly course, and, after encountering a violent tempest on the 24th of February, he arrived, about the middle of March, on the American coast, in latitude thirty-four degrees north, probably near that part of North Carolina on which Wilmington now stands. He pursued his voyage northwesterly to the shores of New-Jersey. The harbor of New-York attracted his notice for its convenience and pleasantness. Afterwards, pursuing his course eastward, he passed Block-Island, which struck him by its resemblance to the Island of Rhodes. Fifteen leagues more brought him to the spacious haven of Newport, where he remained for more than fifteen days. The natives “were the most beautiful and well behaved people he had met with in all his voyage.” On the 6th of May, leaving the waters of Rhode-

Island, the intrepid navigator sailed along the coast of New-England to Nova Scotia, till within nearly the fiftieth degree of northern latitude. See an able article in the *North American Review*, vol. 45, p. 293. "*The Life and Voyages of Verrazzano*," by *George W. Greene, Esq., U. S. Consul at Rome*. Il Capitano Giovanni da Verrazzano Fiorentino di Normandia alla Serenissima Corona d' Francia. Diepa a di 8 d' Luglio 1524. Lettera di Ferdinando Carli a suo Padre a Firenze. These letters have been copied by Mr. Greene, and presented to the Rhode-Island Historical Society. Hakluyt's *Voyages*, vol. 2, p. 295-300.

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No. IV.—[p. 79.]

ROGER WILLIAMS\* was the first person in modern Christendom to maintain the doctrine of religious liberty and unlimited toleration. His "Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of conscience, discussed between Truth and Peace," &c. &c., was

\* For an able and interesting delineation of the life and character of this extraordinary man, whose name deserves to be enrolled with the legislators of ancient times, or with the statesmen of modern Europe, see a "Memoir of Roger Williams," by the Rev. Professor Knowles, of the Theological Institution at Newton, Massachusetts; see also "What-cheer, or Roger Williams in Banishment." A Poem, by the Hon. Job Durfee, Chief Justice of the State of Rhode-Island.



published in London in 1644. It is a small quarto, of two hundred and forty-seven pages. In this work he maintains the absolute right of every man, to a "full liberty in religious concernments," supported by the most luminous and powerful reasoning. Here are disclosed principles, which have excited admiration in the writings of Jeremy Taylor, Milton, Locke and Furneau. A reply was written by Mr. Cotton, an eminent clergyman in Boston, and printed in London in 1647. Mr. Williams published a rejoinder, entitled "The Bloody Tenent, yet more Bloody by Mr. Cotton's endeavor to wash it white in the Blood of the Lamb. Of whose precious Blood, spilt in the Blood of his servants; and of the blood of millions spilt in former and later wars for conscience sake, that most Bloody Tenent of Persecution for cause of conscience, upon a second trial, is found now more apparently and more notoriously guilty. In this rejoinder to Mr. Cotton, are principally, I. The Nature of Persecution. II. The Power of the civil Sword in Spirituals, examined. III. The Parliament's permission of Dissenting Consciences, justified. Also (as a Testimony to Mr. Clark's Narrative) is added a letter to Mr. Endicot, Governor of the Massachusetts, in N. E. By R. Williams, of Providence in New-England. London, printed for Giles Calvert, and are to be sold at the black-spread-Eagle at the West-end of Pauls, 1652." It is a quarto volume of three hundred and seventy-four pages. The

same clear, enlarged and consistent views of religious freedom are maintained in this last work, as in his preceding, with additional arguments, evincing an acute, vigorous, and fearless mind, imbued with various erudition and undissembled piety.

In an appendix is the following address :

“To the Clergy of the four great Parties, professing the name of Christ Jesus, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, viz. the Popish, Prelatical, Presbyterian, and Independent.

WORTHY SIRs—I have pleaded the cause of your several and respective consciences, against the bloody doctrine of persecution, in my former labors, and in this my present rejoinder to Mr. Cotton.

And yet I must pray leave without offence to say, I have impartially opposed and charged your consciences also, so far as guilty of that bloody doctrine of persecuting each other for your consciences.

You four have torn the seamless coat of the Son of God into four pieces, and, to say nothing of former times and tearings, you four have torn the three nations into thousands of pieces and distractions.

The two former of you, the Popish and Protestant Prelatical, are brethren: so are the latter, the Presbyterian and Independent. But, oh, how *rara est*, &c? What concord, what love, what pity, hath ever yet appeared

amongst you, when the providence of the Most High and only wise hath granted you your patents of mutual and successive dominion and precedence?

Just like two men, whom I have known break out to blows and wrestling, so have the Protestant Bishops fought and wrestled with the Popish, and the Popish with the Protestant! The Presbyterian with the Independent, and the Independent with the Presbyterian! And our chronicles and experiences have told this nation, and the world, how he whose turn it is to be brought under, hath ever felt an heavy wrathful hand of an unbrotherly and unchristian persecutor.

Meanwhile, what outcries for a sword, a sword at any price, on any terms, wherewith to take final revenges on such their blasphemous and heretical adversaries and cor-  
rivals?

Hence is it, that the magistrate hath been so courted, his person adored and deified, and his religion magnified and exalted.

Amongst the people, some have thought and said, how hath the shining of the magistrate's money and sword out-shined the nobility of his person, or the Christianity of his conscience? For when the person changes and religion too, how grossly notorious have been the Clergy's changes also? For instance, how have they perished, tacked and turned about, (as the wind hath blown,) from Popery to Protestantism, from Protestantism to Popery, and from Popery to Protestantism again, and this within

the compass of about a dozen years ; as the purse and sword-bearers were changed, whatever the persons of those Princes (male or female, men or children, or their consciences, Popish or Protestant) were.

Yea, how justly in the late King's book (if his) are the Clergy of England charged with horrible breach of vows and oaths of canonical obedience to their fathers the Bishops, against whom, in the turn of the times and the sword-bearers, they turned to the Scotch Presbyters, their fathers' dreadful enemies and persecutors ?

Now as to the persecuting each of other, I confess the wolf, (the persecutor,) devours the goat, the swine, yea the very fox, and other creatures, as well as the inoffensive sheep and lamb. Yet, as the Lord Jesus made use of that excellent fable or similitude of a wolf getting on a sheep's-skin, so may I not unseasonably make use of that of the wolf and the poor lamb coming down to drink upon the same brook and stream together. The wolf, cruel and strong, drinks above and aloft : the lamb, innocent and weak, drinks upon the stream below. The wolf questions and quarrels the lamb for corrupting and defiling the waters. The lamb, not daring to plead how easily the wolf, drinking higher, might transfer defilement downward, but pleads improbability and impossibility, that the waters descending could convey defilement upwards. This is the controversy, this the plea. But who shall judge ? Be the lamb never so innocent, his plea never so just, his adversary the wolf will be his judge, and being so cruel and so strong, soon tears the lamb in pieces.

Thus the cruel beast, armed with the power of the Kings, (Revel. 17) sits judge in his own quarrels against the lamb, about the drinking at the waters. And thus, saith Mr. Cotton, the judgment ought to pass upon the heretic, not for matter of conscience, but for sinning against his conscience.

*Object.* Methinks I hear the great charge against the Independent party to be the great pleaders for liberty of conscience, &c.

*Answer.* Oh the horrible deceit of the hearts of the sons of men ! And what excellent physic can we prescribe to others, till our soul, as Job said, come to be in their soul's cases ? What need have we to be more vile (with Job) before God, to walk in holy sense of self-insufficiency, to cry for the blessed leadings of the holy spirit of God, to guide and lead our heads and hearts uprightly ?

For, to draw the curtain and let in the light a little, do not all persecutors themselves zealously plead for freedom, for liberty, for mercy to men's consciences, when themselves are in the grates, and pits, and under hatches ?

Doth not Gesner tell us of a gentleman in Germany, who, fitting his pitfall for wild beasts, found in the morning a woman, a wolf, and a fox in three several corners, as full of fear, and as quiet, and desirous of liberty, one as well as another ?

Thus bloody Gardiner and Bonner, (prisoners during King Edward's days,) yea, and that bloody Queen Mary



herself, all plead the freedom of their consciences. What most humble supplications, and indeed unanswerable arguments for liberty of conscience, have the Papists, when in restraint, presented, and especially in King James's time? Yea, what excellent subscriptions to this soul-freedom are interwoven in many passages of the late King's book, if his? Yea, and one of his chaplains, so called, Doctor Jer. Taylor, what an everlasting monumental testimony did he publish to this truth, in that his excellent discourse, of the liberty of prophecyng? Yea, the formerly non-conforming Presbyterian and Independent, Scotch and English, old and new, what most humble and pious addresses have they made before the whole world, to Princes and Parliaments, for just mercy, in true petitions of right, to their consciences? But, let this present discourse, and Mr. Cotton's fig-leaf evasions and distinctions; let the practices of the Massachusetts in New-England, in twenty years persecution; and this last of Mr. Clarke, Obadiah Holmes, and others, be examined. Yea, let the Independent minister's late proposals be weighed with the double weight of God's sanctuary, and it will appear what mercy the poor souls of all men, and Jesus Christ in any of them, may expect from the very Independent's Clergy themselves.

*Object.* But doth not their proposals provide a liberty to such as fear God, viz. that they may freely preach without an ordination! and that such as are not free to the public assemblies, may have liberty to meet in private.

*Answer.* It may so please the father of lights to shew them that their lines and models, and New-England's

copy also, after which they write and pencil, are but more and more refined images, whereby to worship the invisible God : and that still, as before, the wolf (the persecutor) must judge of the lamb's drinking !

For instance, New England's laws, lately published in Mr. Clark's Narrative, tell us how free it shall be for people to gather themselves into church-estate ; how free to choose their own ministers ; how free to enjoy all the ordinances of Christ Jesus, &c. But yet, provided, so and so, upon the point, that the civil state must judge of the spiritual, to wit : whether persons be fit for church-estate, whether the gathering be right, whether the people's choice be right, doctrines right, and what is this in truth, but to swear that blasphemous oath of supremacy again, to the Kings, and Queens, and Magistrates of this and other nations, instead of the Pope, &c. ?

Into these prisons and cages, do those otherwise worthy and excellent men, the Independents, put all the children of God, and all the children of men in the whole world, and then bid them fly and walk at liberty, (to wit, within the conjured circle,) so far as they please.

To particularize briefly : when they have in their six several circuits, ejected, according to their proposals, it may be hundreds, it may be thousands, if impartial of Episcopal and Presbyterian Ministers, and that without and against their people's consent, to the present distressing of thousands, and enraging, through such soul-oppressions, the whole nation ! Then, say they, it shall be free for all that be able, &c., to be preachers, though not

ordained, &c. But, provided, that two ministers' hands, at least, which upon the point, is instead of an ordination, be to their approbation, &c. Upon this lock, any shall be free to preach Christ Jesus, upon this point of the compass, as I may in humble reverence, and with sorrow speak it, the spirit of God shall be free to breathe and operate in the souls of men ! By this plummet, and line, rule, and square, and, seeming, golden reed, and metewand, the sanctuary must be built and measured, &c.

But further, if any shall be of tender consciences, and that the common size will not serve their foot, if they shall think the Independent's foundations too weak, or it may be too strong for their weak belief, if they cannot bow down to their golden image, though of the finest and latest edition and fashion ; why God forbid they should be forced to church as others, they shall enjoy their liberty, and meet apart in private. But, provided they acquaint the civil magistrate, that is, as it may fall out, (who knows how soon ?) and too often hath fallen out, the poor sheep and deer of Christ must take license of and betray themselves unto the paws and jaws of their lion-like persecutors.

Hear O Heavens, give ear O Earth ! What is this but like the treacherous Dutchmen, who capitulate of leagues of peace and amity with their neighbor English, and in the midst of State compliments, some say out of malicious wrath, others say it was out of drunken intoxications at the best, thunder out broadsides of fire and smoke of persecution ?

*Object.* Some possibly may say, Your just suffering from the Independents in New-England makes you speak revenges against them in old.

*Answer.* What I have suffered in my estate, body, name, spirit, I hope through help from Christ, and for his sake I have desired to bear with a spirit of patience and of respect and love, even to my persecutors. As to particulars, I have and must, if God so will, further debate them with my truly honored and beloved adversary, Mr. Cotton.

But as to you, worthy Sirs, men of learning and men of personal holiness, many of you, I truly desire to be far from envying your honors, pleasures, and revenues, from whence the two former Popish and Prelatical are ejected, unto which the two later Presbyterian and Independent are advanced. Nor would I move a tongue or pen that any of you now possessed, should be removed or disturbed, until your consciences by the holy spirit of God, or the consciences of the people, to whom you serve or minister, shall be otherwise, than as you are yet, persuaded.

Much rather would I make another humble plea, and that I believe with all the reason and justice in the world, that such who are ejected, undone, impoverished, might some way from the State or you receive relief and succor: considering, that the very nation's constitution hath occasioned parents to train up, and persons to give themselves to studies, though in truth but in a way of trade and bargaining before God, yet, it is according to the custom of the nation, who ought therefore to share also

in the fault of such priests and ministers who in all changes are ejected.

I end with humble begging to the Father of Spirits, to persuade and possess yours with a true sense of three particulars.

First, Of the yokes of soul-oppression, which lie upon the necks of most of the inhabitants of the three nations, and of the whole world; as if Cham's curse from Noah were upon them, servants of servants as they are, and that in the matters of the soul's affection unto God, which call for the purest liberty. I confess the world lies in wickedness, and loveth darkness more than light; but why should you help on those yokes, and force them to receive a doctrine, to pray, to give thanks, &c., without an heart? Yea, and, in the many changes and cases incident, against their heart and soul's consent?

Secondly, Of the bloodiness of that most bloody doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience, with all the winding stairs and back doors of it, &c. Some professors, true and false, sheep and goats, are daily found to differ in their apprehensions, persuasions, professions, and that to bonds and death.

What now, shall these be wracked, their souls, their bodies, their purses, &c? Yea, if they refuse, deny, oppose the doctrine of Christ Jesus, whether Jews or Gentiles, why should you call for fire from Heaven, which suits not with Christ Jesus, his spirit or ends? Why should you compel them to come in, with any other sword but



that of the spirit of God, who alone persuaded Japhet to come into the tents of Shem, and can in his holy season prevail with Shem to come into the tents of Japhet ?

Thirdly, Of that bias of self-love which hails and sways our minds to hold so fast this bloody Tenent. You know it is the spirit of love from Christ Jesus, that turns our feet from the tradition of fathers, &c. That sets the heart and tongue, and pen and hands too, as Paul's, day and night to work, rather than the progress and purity and simplicity of the crown of Christ Jesus should be debased or hindered.

This spirit will cause you to leave with joy, benefices, and bishopricks, worlds and lives for his sake ; the heights and depths, lengths and breadths, of whose love you know doth infinitely pass your most knowing comprehensions and imaginations. There is but little of this spirit extant, I fear will not be, until we see Christ Jesus slain in the slaughter of the witnesses. Then Joseph will go boldly unto Pilate for the slaughtered body of most precious Saviour : and Nicodemus will go by day to buy and bestow his sweetest spices on his infinitely sweeter souls beloved. The full breathings of that heavenly spirit, unfeignedly and heartily wisheth you,

Your most unworthy countryman,

R. WILLIAMS."

## No. V.—[p. 73.]

*Rev. William Blackstone.*

About the time that Roger Williams came to Providence, Rev. William Blackstone settled in Cumberland, near the river which bears his name, about three miles above Pawtucket. He was a man of learning, and had received Episcopal ordination in England. He appears to have left his native country, on account of his nonconformity, and he sought an asylum for the enjoyment of religious freedom in the wilds of New-England. The precise time of his arrival in this country is unknown. It appears from Johnson's History, p. 20, that he was here in 1628; but not agreeing with Mr. Endicot and others on ecclesiastical affairs, he devoted himself to agriculture. When the first planters of Massachusetts arrived, in the year 1630, they found him already quietly seated on the peninsula of *Shawmut*, now the city of Boston. His cottage was near a spring, on the south end of the peninsula. Gov. Hopkins, in his "History of Providence,"\* says, that Mr. Blackstone had been at Boston "so long" (when Governor Winthrop and his company came) "as to have raised apple trees and planted an orchard." "Having escaped the power of the *Lords Bishops* in England, and

\* His account of Providence was first published in the *Providence Gazette*, in 1765.

soon becoming discontented with the power of the *Lords Brethren* here," he sold his lands on the peninsula, in the year 1635, and made a removal about the year 1636. The place to which he removed, was about six miles north of Mr. Williams. His house was situated near the east bank of the river which perpetuates his name, a few rods eastward of a knoll, which he called "*Study Hill*." It was surrounded by a park, which was his favorite walk. His house he named "*Study Hall*." Here, also, he planted an orchard, the first that ever bore apples in Rhode-Island. "Many of the trees which he planted, about one hundred and thirty years ago," says Governor Hopkins, in 1765, "are still pretty thrifty fruit-bearing trees. He had the first of that sort called yellow sweetings, that were ever in the world, perhaps the richest and most delicious apple of the whole kind." Mr. Blackstone used frequently to preach in Providence and other places adjacent. He was a man of talent, and though somewhat eccentric, sustained the character of an exemplary Christian. He died, May 26, 1675, having lived in New-England, about fifty years. His death occurred at a critical period, a few weeks before the commencement of *Philip's War*. His estate was desolated, and his house and library laid in ashes, by the ruthless natives. He lies buried about two rods east of his favorite Study Hill, where two rude stones designate the place of his interment. His family here is extinct; but his

name will be found on the first list of freemen of Massachusetts, 1630, and it is identified with the beautiful stream which flows through the valley of the Blackstone.

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No. VI.—[p. 74]

*Deed of the chief Sachems of Narragansett to Roger Williams.*

At Nanhiggansick, the 24th of the first month commonly called March, in the second year of our plantation, or planting at Mooshausick, or Providence: Memorandum, that we Caunannicus and Miantinomu, the two chief sachems of Nanhiggansick, having two years since sold unto Roger Williams the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers called Mooshausick and Wanasketucket,\* do now by these presents establish and confirm the bounds of those lands, from the rivers and fields of Pautuckett, the great hill of Neoterconkenitt† on the north-west, and the town of Mashapauge on the west. As also, in consideration of the many kindnesses and services he hath continually done for us, both for our friends of Massachusetts, as also at Quininkticutt and Apaum, or Plymouth;

\* The first of these rivers falls into the cove above Weybosset bridge from the north, the other from the west.


† Neoterconkennitt is three miles from Weybosset bridge, Mashapauge is about two miles south of Neoterconkenitt.

we do freely give unto him all that land from those rivers reaching to Pautuxett river, as also the grass and meadows upon Pautuxett river. In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands.

The mark of  Caunannicus.

The mark  of Miantinomu.

In presence of

The mark  of Seatagh.

The mark \* of Assotemewett.

1639. Memorandum, 3d month, 9th day this was all again confirmed by Miantinomu. He acknowledged this his act and hand [illegible] up the stream of Pautuckett and Pautuxett without limits we might have for our use of cattle.

Witness hereof,

ROGER WILLIAMS,

BENEDICT ARNOLD.

[Providence Records.]

This deed is dated two years after the settlement of Mr. Williams and his associates at Providence, and bears date the same day and year, with the deed of Aquetneck or the Island of Rhode-Island. Previous to his banishment, he had cultivated an acquaintance with the natives, learned their language, and entered into negotiations for lands



with the sachems Canonicus and Ousamequin, provided he should be under the necessity of settling among them. He had made large presents to these chiefs, "and therefore," says he, in one of his letters, "when I came, I was welcome to Ousamequin and to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English to his last breath."

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No. VII.—[p. 74.]

*Deed of Roger Williams to his twelve original associates.*

PROVIDENCE, 8th of the 8th month, 1638,  
(so called,)

Memorandum, that I, Roger Williams, having formerly purchased of Caunannicus and Miantinomu, this our situation, or plantation, of New-Providence, viz. the two fresh rivers, Wanasquatuckett and Mooshausick, and the ground and meadows thereupon; in consideration of thirty pounds received from the inhabitants of said place, do freely and fully pass, grant and make over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the same grounds and lands unto my loving friends and neighbors, Stukely Wescott, William Arnold, Thomas James, Robert Cole, John Greene, John Throckmorton, William Harris, William Carpenter, Thomas Olney, Francis Weston, Richard Waterman, Ezekiel Holliman, and such others as the major part of us shall admit into the same fellow-

ship of vote with us :—As also I do freely make and pass over equal right and power of enjoying and disposing of the lands and grounds reaching from the aforesaid rivers unto the great river Pautuxett, with the grass and meadows thereupon, which was so lately given and granted by the aforesaid sachems to me. Witness my hand,

ROGER WILLIAMS.

[Providence Records.]

Every inhabitant who was received, signed the following covenant :

“We whose names are here under-written, being desirous to inhabit in the town of Providence, do promise to submit ourselves, in active or passive obedience, to all such orders or agreements as shall be made for public good of the body, in an orderly way, by the major consent of the present inhabitants, masters of families, incorporated together into a township, and such others whom they shall admit unto the same, *only in civil things.*”

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No. VIII.—[p. 74.]

*Deposition of Roger Williams.*

Narragansett, 18 June, 1682, Ut. Vul.

I testify as in the presence of the all making and all seeing God, that about fifty years since, I coming into this Narragansett country, I found a great contest between three sachems, two (to wit, Cononicus and Miantonomy)

were against Ousamaquin on Plymouth side, I was forced to travel between them three, to pacify, to satisfy all their, and their dependents' spirits of my honest intentions to live peaceably by them. I testify that it was the general and constant declaration that Cononicus his father had three sons, whereof Cononicus was the heir, and his youngest brother's son Miantonomy (because of his youth) was his Marshal and Executioner, and did nothing without his uncle Cononicus' consent. And therefore I declare to posterity that were it not for the favor that God gave me with Cononicus, none of these parts, no, not Rhode-Island had been purchased or obtained, for I never got any thing out of Cononicus but by gift. I also profess that being inquisitive of what root the title or denomination Nahiganset should come, I heard that Nahiganset was so named from a little Island between Puttisquomscut and Musquomacuk on the sea and fresh water side. I went on purpose to see it, and about the place called Sugar-loaf Hill, I saw it, and was within a pole of it, but could not learn why it was called Nahiganset. I had learnt that the Massachusetts was called so from the Blue Hills, a little Island thereabout: and Cononicus' father and ancestors living in those southern parts, transferred and brought their authority and name into those northern parts all along by the sea side, as appears by the great destruction of wood all along near the sea side: and I desire posterity to see the gracious hand of the Most High, (in whose hands is all hearts,) that when the hearts of my countrymen and friends and brethren failed me, his infinite wisdom and merits stirred up the barbarous heart of Cononicus to love me as his son to his last gasp, by which means I had not only Miantonomy and all the

Cowesit sachems my friends, but Ousamaquin also, who because of my great friendship with him at Plymouth and the authority of Cononicus, consented freely (being also well gratified by me) to the Governor Winthrop's and my enjoyment of Prudence, yea of Providence itself, and all the other lands I procured of Cononicus which were upon the point, and in effect whatsoever I desired of him. And I never denied him nor Miantonomy whatever they desired of me as to goods or gifts, or use of my boats or pinnace and the travels of my own person day and night, which though men know not nor care to know, yet the all-seeing eye hath seen it and his all-powerful hand hath helped me. Blessed be his holy name to eternity.

R. WILLIAMS.

September 28, 1704, I then being present at the house of Mr. Nathaniel Coddington, there, being presented with this written paper which I attest upon oath to be my father's own hand writing.

JOSEPH WILLIAMS, Assistant.

February 11, 1705. True copy of the original placed to record and examined by me.

WESTON CLARKE, Recorder.

[Colony Records.]

## No. IX.—[p. 83.]

*Biographical notice of Rev. John Clarke.*

Dr. JOHN CLARKE, the founder and first Pastor of the first Baptist Church in Newport, was born October 8, 1609. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Harges, Esq., of Bedfordshire, England. In a power of attorney he signed, May 12, 1656, to receive a legacy given by his wife's father out of the manor of Wreslingworth in Bedfordshire, he styles himself, John Clarke, Physician, of London. It is not certainly known where Mr. Clarke was born, but tradition makes him a native of Bedfordshire. His writings evince him to have been a learned man. In his will he bequeaths to his dear friend, Richard Bailey, his Hebrew and Greek books; also a Concordance and Lexicon, written by himself, the fruit of several years study. He published in London, in 1652, a book, entitled, "Ill News from New-England, or a narrative of New-England's persecution; wherein it is declared, that while Old England is becoming New, New-England is becoming Old, &c. &c.," in which he introduced the substance of a tract, issued the preceding year, called "A Brief Discourse touching New-England, and particularly Rhode-Island; as also a faithful and true relation of the prosecution of Obadiah Holmes, John Crandall and John Clarke, merely for conscience towards God, by the principal mem-



bers of the Church or Commonwealth of the Massachusetts in New-England, which rules over that part of the world." This tract was probably written by the same hand.

In 1651, he was sent to England with Roger Williams to promote the interests of the Colony of Rhode-Island. Mr. Clarke remained in England, as agent for the Colony, till he procured the Charter of 1663. After his return, he was elected three years, successively, Deputy-Governor. But all his exertions to promote the civil prosperity of Rhode-Island, did not induce him to neglect the affairs of religion. He continued the esteemed pastor of the first Baptist Church in Newport, till his death. Having no children, he gave most of his property to charitable purposes; the income of which was to be given to the poor, and to be employed for the interests of learning and religion. He died, April 20, 1676, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, resigning his soul to his merciful Redeemer, and through faith in him he enjoyed the hope of a resurrection to eternal life. He left behind a writing which evinces his sentiments to have been those of the Particular Baptists. He was a faithful and useful minister, courteous and amiable in all the relations of life, and an ornament to his profession and to the several offices which he sustained. His memory is deserving of lasting honor for his efforts towards establishing the first government in the world,

which gave to all equal civil and religious liberty. To no man, except Roger Williams, is Rhode-Island more indebted than to him. He was the original projector of the settlement on the Island, and one of its ablest legislators. No character in New-England is of purer fame than John Clarke.

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“all his study bent  
To worship God aright, and know his works  
Not hid, nor those things last which might preserve  
Freedom and Peace to men.”—*Milton, P. L. 11. 577.*

From his three brothers, Thomas, Joseph and Carew, are descended the large family in Rhode-Island bearing the name of Clarke.

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### No. X.—[p. 84.]

The following is the form of civil compact agreed to by the first settlers on the Island of Rhode-Island.

“We whose names are underwritten do here solemnly, in the presence of JEHOVAH, incorporate ourselves into a body politic, and as he shall help, will submit our persons, lives, and estates, unto our Lord Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords, and to all those perfect and

most absolute laws of his, given us in his holy word of truth to be guided and judged thereby."—*Exod.* 24. 3, 4. *II. Chron.* 11. 3. *II. Kings,* 11. 17.

•

The first act passed under this form is dated 3d month 13th day, 1638, and is in these words.

"It is ordered that none shall be received as inhabitants or freemen, to build or plant upon the Island, but such as shall be received in by the consent of the body, and do submit to the government that is or shall be established according to the word of God."

This form continued till the 12th of March, 1640. On the 16th of March, 1641, at a General Court of Election,

"It was ordered and unanimously agreed upon, that the government which this body politic doth attend unto in this Island and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince is a DEMOCRACY or popular government, (that is to say) it is in the power of the body of freemen, orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just laws by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man.

"It was further ordered by the authority of this present Court, that no one be accounted a delinquent for DOCTRINE, provided it be not directly repugnant to the government or laws established."

And on the 17th September following (1641) they passed this act.

“It is ordered that that law of the last Court, made concerning liberty of conscience in point of doctrine, is perpetuated.”

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No. XI.—[p. 86.]

*Indian Deed of the Island of Aquetneck or Aquedneck.\**

The 24th of the 1st month called March in the year  
(so commonly called) 1637–8.

Memorandum, that we Canonicus and Miantunnomu, the two chief sachems of the Nanhiggansets by virtue of our general command of this Bay ; as also the particular subjecting of the dead sachem of Aquedneck and Kitackamuckqut themselves and lands unto us, have sold unto Mr. Coddington and his friends united unto him, the great Island of Aquedneck, lying from hence eastward in this Bay, as also the marsh or grass upon Quinunnugat and the rest of the Islands in the Bay, (excepting Chibachuweca, formerly sold unto Mr. Winthrope, the now Governor of Massachusetts, and Mr. Williams of Providence) as also the rivers and coves about Kitackamuckqut and from

\* This word is also spelled Aquethnick, Aquidneck, and Aquithneck ; the middle syllable was probably guttural.

thence to Paupasquash for the full payment of forty fathom of white beads to be equally divided between us. In witness whereof we have here subscribed.

Item. That by giving by Miantunnomu's hand ten coats and twenty hoes to the present inhabitants, they shall remove themselves from off the Island before next winter. Witness our hands.

The mark of



Cannonicus.

The mark of



Miantunnomu.

In the presence of  
 The mark ✕ of Yotursh,  
 ROGER WILLIAMS,  
 RANDAL HOLDEN,  
 The mark ✕ of Assotimuit,  
 The mark ✕ of Mishammoh,  
 Cannonicus his son.

This witnesseth, that I, Wanamataunemet, the present sachem inhabitant of the Island, have received five fathom of wampum, and do consent to the contents.

Witness my hand,

The mark of



Wanamataunemet.

In the presence of  
 RANDAL HOLDEN.



Memorandum. That I Ousamequin, freely consent that Mr. William Coddington and his friends united unto him, shall make use of any grass or trees on the main land on Powakasick side, and do promise loving and just carriage of myself and all my men to the said Mr. Coddington, and English his friends united to him, having received of Mr. Coddington five fathom of wampum as gratuity from himself and the rest.

The mark ✕ of Ousamequin.

Dated the 6th day of the 5th month 1638.

Witness,  
ROGER WILLIAMS,  
RANDAL HOLDEN.

A true copy pr. me,

FRA. BRINLEY, Recorder.

A true copy pr. me,

WILLIAM LYTHERLAND, Recorder.

The 11th day of May, 1639. Received by me Miantunnomu (as a gratuity) of Mr. Coddington and his friends united, for my pains and travel in removing of the natives off the Island of Aquedneck, ten fathom of wampum peage and one broad cloth coat.

Mian




tonnomu.

A true copy of the original entered and recorded by  
JOHN SANFORD, Recorder.

Dated May 14th, 1639. Received of William Coddington and his friends united unto him, in full satisfaction for ground broken up or any other title or claim whatsoever formerly had of the Island of Aquedneck, the full sum of five fathom of wampum peage and a coat.

Weshaganasett ✕ his mark.

Witness,

Miantonnomu  his mark,

HUGH DURDAL,

Thomas Sabery ✕ his mark.

A true copy of the original entered and recorded by me,

JOHN SANFORD, Recorder.

June 20th, 1639. Received of Mr. William Coddington and of his friends united to him in full satisfaction of ground broken up or any other title or claim whatsoever formerly had of the Island of Aquedneck, the full sum of five fathom of wampum peage.

Wonimenatony ✕ his mark.

Witness,

WM. COWLING,

RICHARD SAWELL.

A true copy of the original entered and recorded by me,

JOHN SANFORD, Recorder.

The 22d November, 1639. Received by me Miantunnomu, of Mr. William Coddington and his friends

united, twenty and three coats and thirteen hoes to distribute to the Indians that did inhabit of the Island of Aquedneck, in full of all promises, debts and demands for the said Island, as also two tarkepess.

Mian      ↑      tunnomu.  
 Can      ↗      nonicus.

Witness,  
 AMOMPOUCKE,  
 WAMPAMINAQUITT.

A true copy of the original entered and recorded by  
 JOHN SANFORD, Recorder.

[Colony Records.]

The other seventeen joint purchasers of Aquetneck, whose names are mentioned p. 84, note, expressed their dissatisfaction that the Indian title to the Island of Rhode-Island stood in the name of Wm. Coddington, and to pacify them he executed an instrument of the following tenor, giving them an equal share with himself.

Boston in Massachusetts Bay in New-England.—Whereas, there was an agreement of eighteen persons to make purchase of some place to the southward for a plan-

tation, whither they resolved to remove, for which end some of them were sent out to view a place for themselves and such others as they should take into the liberty of freemen and purchasers with them, and, upon their view was purchased Rhode-Island, with some small neighboring Islands and privileges of grass and wood of the Islands in the Bay and main adjoining; and whereas, the sale of the said purchase from the Indians hath ever since lain in the hands of William Coddington, Esq., which being a great trouble to the aforesaid purchasers and freemen, I, the said William Coddington, Esq., do by this writing promise to deliver the said deeds of the purchase, together with what records are in my hands belonging to the said purchasers and freemen, into the hands of such as the major part of the purchasers and freemen shall appoint to receive them; and do hereby declare that I, the said William Coddington, Esq., have no more in the purchase of right than any other of the purchasers or freemen received, or shall be received in by them, but only for my own proportion. In witness hereof, I have put to my hand this 14th of April, 1652.

WILLIAM CODDINGTON.

Signed in the presence of  
ROBERT KNIGHT,  
GEORGE MUNING.

A true copy of the original entered and recorded the 7th of April, 1673, by me,

JOHN SANFORD, Recorder.

[Colony Records.]

## No. XII.—[p. 86.]

*Deposition of William Coddington.*

William Coddington, Esq., aged about seventy-six years old, testifyeth upon his engagement that when he was one of the magistrates of the Massachusetts Colony, he was one of the persons that made a peace with Cononicus and Miantonomy in the Colony's behalf with all the Narragansett Indians, and by order from the authority of the Massachusetts a little before they made war with the Pequod Indians. Not long after, this deponent went from Boston to find a plantation to settle upon, came to Aquedneck, now called Rhode-Island, where was a sachem called Wonnunetonomiey, and this deponent went to buy the Island of him; but his answer was that Cononicus and Miantonomy were the chief sachems, and he could not sell the land, whereupon this deponent with some others went from Aquedneck Island into the Narragansett to the said sachems, Cononicus and Miantonomy, and bought the Island of them, they having as I understood the chief command both of the Narragansett and Aquedneck Island, and farther saith not. Taken upon engagement in Newport on Rhode-Island the 27th day of September 1677 before P. Sanford Assistant.

The above is a true copy of the original, placed to record, examined by me February 11, 1705.

WESTON CLARKE, Recorder.

[Colony Records.]



## No. XIII.—[p. 89.]

For an able and an impartial account of Gorton and his religious opinions, the reader is referred to vol. 2 of the Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, by the Hon. William R. Staples. We are gratified to learn that this gentleman is preparing for publication, a History of Providence.

[p. 92.]

For an early History of Narragansett, see vol. 3 of the Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society, by Elisha R. Potter, Esq. This work will supply valuable materials for the future historian of Rhode-Island.

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## No. XIV.—[p. 98.]

*The first Patent of Rhode-Island.*

Whereas, by an ordinance of the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, bearing date the 2d day of November, Anno. Dom. 1643, Robert, Earl of Warwick, is constituted and ordained Governor in chief and Lord High Admiral of all those Islands and other Plantations, inhabited and planted by or belonging to any his Majesty the King of England's subjects, or which hereafter may be inhabited and planted by or belonging to them, within the bounds and upon the coast of America. And whereas, the said Lords and Commons have thought fit, and

thereby ordained that Philip, Earl of Pembroke; Edward, Earl of Manchester; William, Viscount Say and Seal; Philip, Lord Wharton; John, Lord Roberts; Members of the House of Peers; Sir Gilbert Gerard, Baronet; Sir Arthur Haselrige, Baronet; Sir Henry Vane, Jr., Knight; Sir Benjamin Rudyerd, Knight; John Pym, Oliver Cromwell, Dennis Bond, Miles Corbet, Cornelius Holland, Samuel Vassall, John Rolle and William Spurstowe, Esq's, Members of the House of Commons, should be Commissioners, to join in aid and assistance with the said Earl. And whereas, for the better governing and preserving of the said Plantations, it is thereby ordained, that the aforesaid Governor and Commissioners, or the greater number of them, should have power and authority from time to time, to nominate, appoint and constitute, all such subordinate governors, councils, commanders, officers and agents, as they should judge to be best affected, and most fit and serviceable to govern the said Islands and Plantations, and to provide for, order and dispose all things which they should from time to time find most fit and advantageous for the said Plantation, and for the better security of the owners and inhabitants thereof; to assign, ratify and confirm so much of their aforementioned authority and power, and in such manner and to such persons as they should judge to be fit for the better governing and preserving of the said Plantations and Islands from open violence, prejudice, disturbance and distractions. And whereas there is a tract of land in the continent of America aforesaid, called by the name of the Narragansett Bay, bordering north and north-east on the

\*\*\*\*\*  
 \* **Robert** \*  
 \* **Warwick.** \*  
 \* [L. s.] \*  
 \*\*\*\*\*

Patent of Massachusetts, east and south-east on Plymouth Patent, south on the Ocean, and on the west and North-west, inhabited by Indians called Narrogunneucks, alias Narragansetts; the whole tract extending about twenty and five English miles unto the Pequot river and country. And whereas divers well affected and industrious English inhabitants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, in the tract aforesaid, have adventured to make a nearer neighborhood and society to and with that great body of the Narragansetts, which may in time, by the blessing of God upon their endeavors, lay a surer foundation of happiness to all America; and have also purchased, and are purchasing of and amongst the said natives, some other places, which may be convenient both for plantation, and also for the building of ships, supply of pipe-staves and other merchandize. And whereas, the said English have represented their desires to the said Earl and Commissioners, to have their hopeful beginning approved and confirmed by granting unto them a free charter of civil incorporation and government, that they may order and govern their Plantations in such manner as to maintain justice and peace, both amongst themselves and towards all men, with whom they shall have to do.

In due consideration of the premises, the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, Governor in chief and Lord High Admiral of the said Plantations, and the greater number of the said Commissioners, whose names and seals are here under written and subjoined, out of a desire to encourage the good beginnings of the said Plantations, do, by the authority of the aforesaid ordinance of Lords and Commons, give, grant and confirm unto the aforesaid inhabi-

tants of the towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Newport, a free and absolute Charter of Civil Incorporation to be known by the name of *Incorporation of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New-England*; together with full power and authority to govern and rule themselves and such others as shall hereafter inhabit within any part of the said tract of land, by such a form of civil government as by voluntary consent of all or the greatest part of them, shall be found most serviceable in their estates and condition; and to that end, to make and ordain such civil laws and constitutions, and to inflict such punishments upon transgressors, and for execution thereof so to place and displace officers of justice, as they or the greatest part of them, shall by free consent agree unto.

Provided, nevertheless; that the said laws, constitutions and punishments, for the civil government of the said plantation, be conformable to the laws of England, so far as the nature and constitution of that place will admit; and always reserving to the said Earl and Commissioners, and their successors, power and authority so to dispose the General Government of that, as it stands in reference to the rest of the plantations in America, as they shall commissionate from time to time, most conducing to the general good of the said Plantation, the honor of his Majesty, and the service of this State.

And the said Earl and Commissioners do further authorize the aforesaid inhabitants, and for the better transacting of their public affairs, to make and use a public seal, as the known seal of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay in New-England.

In testimony whereof, the said Robert, Earl of Warwick, and Commissioners, have hereunto set their hands and seals, the seventeenth day of March, in the nineteenth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, King Charles, and in the year of our Lord God, 1643.

PEMBROKE,	[L. S.]
SAY AND SEAL,	[L. S.]
PHILIP WHARTON,	[L. S.]
ARTHUR HASELRIGE,	[L. S.]
COR. HOLLAND,	[L. S.]
H. VANE,	[L. S.]
SAM. VASSAL,	[L. S.]
JOHN ROLLE,	[L. S.]
MILES CORBET,	[L. S.]

#### RHODE-ISLAND, SS.

The foregoing Charter or Patent is a true copy of the original entered and compared, April 10th, 1721.

Per RICHARD WARD, Recorder.

[Colony Records.]

All the printed copies of the first Charter which the editor has seen, differ in several forms of expression, from the one on the Colony Records, in the office of the Secretary of State, from which the above copy is taken. This is one special reason for its publication here, although it has been introduced into the two preceding volumes of the Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society. The editor would here correct a slight error which has dropped



from the pen of Mr. Savage, in his admirable edition of Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 193. He says, speaking of the first Charter, "Callender erroneously gives the date 17th of March." The reader will perceive, by a reference to the above copy, that Callender is correct. The copies generally have the date 14th of March.

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No. XV.—[p. 98.]

Mr. Williams landed at Boston, September 17, 1644.\* He brought with him the following letter from several noblemen and other members of the British Parliament, addressed "To the Right Worshipful the Governor and Assistants, and the rest of our worthy friends in the plantation of Massachusetts Bay, in New-England."

"Our much honored Friends:

Taking notice, some of us of long time, of Mr. Roger Williams his good affections and conscience, and of his sufferings by our common enemies and oppressors of God's people the prelates, as also of his great industry and travail in his printed Indian labors in your parts,† (the like where-

\* See Savage's Winthrop, vol. 2, p. 193.

† His Key to the Indian language here alluded to, was published in London, 1643. The first volume of the Collections of the Rhode-Island Historical Society contains an edition of this work.

of we have not seen extant from any part of America,) and in which respect it hath pleased both Houses of Parliament to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute Charter of civil government for those parts of his abode; and withal sorrowfully resenting, that amongst good men (our friends) driven to the ends of the world, exercised with the trials of a wilderness, and who mutually give good testimony, each of the other, (as we observe you do of him, and he abundantly of you,) there should be such a distance; we thought it fit, upon divers considerations, to profess our great desires of both your utmost endeavors of nearer closing and of ready expressing those good affections, (which we perceive you bear to each other) in effectual performance of all friendly offices. The rather because of those bad neighbors you are likely to find in Virginia, and the unfriendly visits from the west of England and of Ireland: That howsoever it may please the Most High to shake our foundations, yet the report of your peaceable and prosperous plantations may be some refreshment to

Your true and faithful friends,

NORTHUMBERLAND,	P. WHARTON,
ROB. HARLEY,	THOS. BARRINGTON,
WM. MASHAM,	OL. ST. JOHN,
JOHN GURDON,	ISAAC PENNINGTON,
COR. HOLLAND,	GIL. PYKERING,
J. BLAKISTON,	MILES CORBET."

## No. XVI.—[p. 98.]

*Laws of Rhode-Island, 1647.*

The first election under the Charter from the Earl of Warwick, &c., was held at Portsmouth, May 19th, 1647. The General Assembly then erected an institution of civil government, and established a code of laws, which is introduced with the following words.

“For the Province of Providence,

“Forasmuch as we have received from our Noble Lords and Honored Governors, and that by virtue of an Ordinance of the Parliament of England, a free and absolute Charter of civil incorporation, &c. We do jointly agree to incorporate ourselves, and so to remain a body politic by the authority thereof. And therefore do declare to own ourselves and one another to be members of the same body, and to have right to the freedom and privileges thereof, by subscribing our names to these words following, viz.

“We whose names are here underwritten, do engage ourselves, to the utmost of our estates and strength, to maintain the authority, and to enjoy the liberty granted to us by our Charter, in the extent of it according to the letter, and to maintain each other, by the same authority, in his lawful right and liberty.

And now sith our Charter gives us power to govern ourselves, and such other as come among us, and by such

a form of civil government as by the voluntary consent, &c., shall be found most suitable to our estate and condition. It is agreed by this present Assembly, thus incorporate, and by this present act declared, that the form of government established in Providence Plantations is DEMOCRATICAL,\* that is to say, a government held by the free and voluntary consent of all, or the greater part of the free inhabitants.

“And now to the end that we may give each to other (notwithstanding our different consciences touching the truth as it is in Jesus, whereof upon the point we all make mention) as good and hopeful assurance as we are able, touching each man’s peaceable and quiet enjoyment of his lawful right and liberty, we do agree unto, and by the authority abovesaid enact, establish and confirm these orders following.”

Among others,

“That no person in this Colony shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his lands or liberties, or be exiled or any otherwise molested or destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by some known law, and according to the *letter of it*, ratified and confirmed by the major part of the General Assembly, lawfully met, and orderly managed.”

This excellent code concludes with these memorable words.

“These are the laws that concern all men, and these

\* This word is recorded in large capitals.

are the penalties for the transgressions thereof, which, by common consent, are ratified and established throughout the whole Colony. And otherwise than thus, what is herein forbidden, all men may walk as their consciences persuade them, every one in the name of his God. AND LET THE SAINTS OF THE MOST HIGH WALK IN THIS COLONY WITHOUT MOLESTATION, IN THE NAME OF JEHOVAH THEIR GOD, FOR EVER AND EVER.”—*Colony Records*.

An eminent American historian\* justly observes,

“The annals of Rhode-Island, if written in the spirit of philosophy, would exhibit the forms of society under a peculiar aspect. Had the territory of the State corresponded to the importance and singularity of the principles of its early existence, the world would have been filled with wonder at the phenomena of its early history.”

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### No. XVII.—[p. 99.]

*Letter from O. Cromwell to Rhode-Island, when Dr. John Clarke was agent of the Colony, in England.*

To our trusty and well beloved the President, Assistants, and Inhabitants of Rhode-Island, together with the

\* See Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. 1, p. 380; a work distinguished for research, skilful and luminous arrangement, and graphical description.



rest of the Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett bay in New-England.

GENTLEMEN,

Your agent here hath represented unto us, some particulars concerning your government, which you judge necessary to be settled by us here. But by reason of the other great and weighty affairs of this Commonwealth, we have been necessitated to defer the consideration of them to a further opportunity; for the mean time we were willing to let you know, that you are to proceed in your government according to the tenor of your Charter, formerly granted on that behalf; taking care of the peace and safety of those plantations, that neither through any intestine commotions, or foreign invasions, there do arise any detriment, or dishonor to this Commonwealth, or yourselves, as far as you, by your care and diligence, can prevent. And as for the things which are before us, they shall, as soon as the other occasions will permit, receive a just and fitting determination. And so we bid you farewell, and rest

Your very loving friend

OLIVER P.

29 March, 1655.

[Colony Records.]

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No. XVIII.

*From the General Assembly to the Commissioners  
of the United Colonies.*

Honored Gentlemen,

There hath been presented to our view, by our honored

President, a letter bearing date September 25th last, subscribed by the Honored Gentlemen Commissioners of the United Colonies, concerning a company of people (lately arrived in these parts of the world) commonly known by the name of Quakers; who are generally conceived pernicious, either intentionally, or at leastwise in effect, even to the corrupting of good manners, and disturbing the common peace and societies of the places where they arise or resort unto, &c.

Now whereas freedom of different consciences, to be protected from inforcements, was the principal ground of our Charter, both with respect to our humble suit for it, as also to the true intent of the honorable and renowned Parliament of England in granting of the same unto us; which freedom we still prize as the greatest happiness that men can possess in this world; therefore we shall, for the preservation of our civil peace and order, the more seriously take notice that those people, and any other that are here, or shall come amongst us, be impartially required, and to our utmost constrained, to perform all duties requisite towards the maintaining the right of his Highness, and the government of that most renowned Commonwealth of England, in this Colony; which is most happily included under the same dominions, and we so graciously taken into protection thereof. And in case they the said people called Quakers which are here, or shall arise or come among us, do refuse to submit to the doing all duties aforesaid, as training, watching, and such other engagements as are upon members of civil societies, for the preservation of the same in justice and peace; then we determine, yea and we resolve (however) to take and

make use of the first opportunity to inform our agent residing in England, that he may humbly present the matter (as touching the considerations premised, concerning the aforesaid people called Quakers) unto the supreme authority of England, humbly craving their advice and order, how to carry ourselves in any further respect towards those people (      \*) that therewithal there may be no damage, or infringement of that chief principle in our Charter, concerning freedom of consciences. And we also are so much the more encouraged to make our addresses unto the Lord Protector his Highness and government aforesaid, for that we understand there are, or have been, many of the aforesaid people suffered to live in England, yea, even in the heart of the nation. And thus with our truly thankful acknowledgments of the honorable care of the honored gentlemen Commissioners of the United Colonies, for the peace and welfare of the whole country, as is expressed in their most friendly letter, we shall at present take leave and rest,

Yours most affectionately, desirous of your honor and welfare.

JOHN SANFORD, Clerk of the Assembly.

PORTSMOUTH, March 13th, 1657-58.

From the General Assembly of the Colony of Providence Plantations.

To the much honored John Endicot, Gov. of the Massachusetts. To be also imparted to the Hond. Coms. of the United Colonies at their next meeting, These.

[Colony Records.]

\* Obliterated.

## No. XIX.—[p. 99.]

*Letter of Commissioners to John Clarke.*

Worthy Sir and trusty friend, Mr. Clarke.

We have found not only your ability and diligence, but also your love and care to be such concerning the welfare and prosperity of this Colony, since you have been intrusted with the more public affairs thereof, surpassing that no small benefit, which formerly we had of your presence here at home, that we in all straits and incumbrances are emboldened to repair to you, for your further and continued counsel, care and help, finding that your solid and Christian demeanor hath gotten no small interest in the hearts of our superiors, those noble and worthy senators with whom you have had to do on our behalf, as it hath constantly appeared in your addresses made unto them, which we have by good and comfortable proof found, having plentiful experience thereof.

The last year we have laden you with much employment, which we were then put upon by reason of some too refractory among ourselves, wherein we appealed unto you for your advice, for the more public manifestation of it with respect to our superiors. But our intelligence it seems fell short in that great loss of the ship, which is conceived here to be cast away. We have now a new occasion, given by an old spirit, with respect to the Colonies about us, who seem to be offended with us, because of a sort of people called by the name of Quakers, who are come amongst us, and have raised up divers who seem at present to be of their spirit, whereat the Colonies about us seem to be offended with us, being the said peo-

ple have their liberty amongst us, as entertained into our houses, or into any of our assemblies. And for the present, we have found no just cause to charge them with the breach of the civil peace, only they are constantly going forth amongst them about us, and vex and trouble them in point of their religion and spiritual state, though they return with many a foul scar in their bodies for the same. And the offences our neighbors take against us, is because we take not some course against the said people, either to expel them from among us, or take such courses against them as themselves do, who are in fear lest their religion should be corrupted by them. Concerning which displeasure that they seem to take, it was expressed to us in a solemn letter, written by the Commissioners of the United Colonies at their sitting, as though they would bring us in to act according to their scantling, or else take some course to do us greater displeasure. A copy of which letter we have herewith sent unto you, wherein you may perceive how they express themselves. As also we have herewith sent our present answer unto them to give you what light we may in this matter. There is one clause in their letter which plainly implies a threat, though covertly expressed, as their manner is, which we gather to be this, that as themselves (as we conceive) have been much awed, in point of their continued subjection to the State of England, lest, in case they should decline, England might prohibit all trade with them, both in point of exportation and importation of any commodities, which were an host sufficiently prevalent to subdue New-England, as not being able to subsist; even so they seem secretly to threaten us, by cutting us off from all commerce and trade with them, and thereby to



disable us of any comfortable subsistence, being that the concourse of shipping, and so of all kind of commodities, is universally conversant amongst themselves; as also knowing that ourselves are not in a capacity to send out shipping of ourselves, which is in great measure occasioned by their oppressing of us, as yourself well knows; as in many other respects, so in this for one, that we cannot have any thing from them for the supply of our necessities, but in effect they make the prices, both of our commodities and their own also, because we have not English coin, but only that which passeth among these barbarians, and such commodities as are raised by the labor of our hands, as corn, cattle, tobacco and the like, to make payment in, which they will have at their own rate, or else not deal with us, whereby (though they gain extraordinarily by us) yet for the safeguard of their religion may seem to neglect themselves in that respect, for what will not men do for their God.

Sir, this is our earnest and present request unto you in this matter, that as you may perceive in our answer to the United Colonies, that we fly, as to our refuge in all civil respects, to his Highness and honorable Council, as not being subject to any others in matters of our civil State, so may it please you to have an eye and ear open in case our adversaries should seek to undermine us in our privileges granted unto us, and to plead our case in such sort as we may not be compelled to exercise any civil power over men's consciences, so long as human orders, in point of civility, are not corrupted and violated, which our neighbors about us do frequently practice, whereof many of us have large experience, and do judge it to be no less than a point of absolute cruelty.

Sir, the humble respects and acknowledgments of this Court and Colony, with our continued and unwearied desires and wishes after the comfortable, honorable and prosperous proceedings of his highness and honorable Council, in all their so weighty affairs, departs not out of our hearts, night or day, which we could humbly wish (if it might not be too much boldness) were presented.

Sir, we have not been unmindful of your great care and kindness of those our worthy friends and gentlemen in that supply of powder and shot, and being a barrel of furs was returned in that ship, whereof Mr. Garrat had the command, wherein was betwixt twenty and thirty pounds worth of goods shipped, the Colony hath taken order for the recruiting of that loss, which we cannot possibly get in readiness to send by this ship, but our intent is, God willing, to send by the next opportunity. And so with our hearty love and respects to yourself, we take our leave.

Subscribed,

JOHN SANFORD, Clerk of the Assembly.

From a Court of Commissioners held in Warwick, this present November the 5th, 1658.

[Colony Records.]

The persecution of the Quakers commenced in 1656, and continued till September, 1661, when an order was received from King Charles II. requiring that neither capital nor corporal punishment should be inflicted on the Quakers, but that offenders should be sent to England. For an account of

these persecutions and of the acts passed against the Quakers, see Neal's History of New-England, vol. 1, 311. Hutchinson, vol. 1, 197. Hazard, vol. 1, 630-632. Bancroft, vol. 1, 451-458. See also the Quaker accounts, by Besse, Gould, and Sewell.

The letter of the Commissioners to John Clarke, and the preceding document, reflect great credit upon the early settlers of Rhode-Island, and show how far they were in advance of the other Colonies and of the age in which they lived. The principles of religious freedom, which they clearly and consistently maintained, are now the rule of action adopted by all Christian sects.

Many of the most respectable persons in the Colony embraced the sentiments of the Society of Friends, among whom was Governor Coddington, who died a member of that denomination. Their Yearly Meeting, until his death, in 1678, was held at his house. The first meeting house of the Friends was erected at Newport, in the year 1700. The Yearly Meeting for New-England was then established at that place where it has ever since been held.

## No. XX.—[p. 99.]

*Commission to John Clarke, when in England as Agent for Rhode-Island.*

Whereas we the Colony of Providence Plantations, in New-England, having a free Charter of incorporation given and granted unto us, in the name of King and Parliament of England, &c., bearing date An. Dom. one thousand six hundred forty-three, by virtue of which Charter this Colony hath been distinguished from the other Colonies in New-England, and have ever since, and at this time, maintained government and order in the same Colony by administering judgment and justice, according to the rules in our said Charter prescribed: And further, whereas there have been sundry obstructions emerging, whereby this Colony have been put to trouble and charge for the preservation and keeping inviolate those privileges and immunities, to us granted in the fore-said free Charter, which said obstructions arise from the claims and encroachments of neighbors about us to and upon some parts of the tract of land, mentioned in our Charter to be within the bounds of this Colony.

These are therefore to declare and make manifest unto all that may have occasion to peruse and consider of these presents, that this present and principal Court of this Colony, sitting and transacting in the name of his most gracious and royal Majesty Charles the second by the grace of God the most mighty and potent King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, and all the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, &c. Do by these presents make, ordain and constitute, desire, authorize

and appoint, our trusty and well beloved friend, Mr. John Clarke, physician, one of the members of this Colony, late inhabitant of Rhode-Island, in the same Colony, and now residing in Westminster, our undoubted agent and attorney, to all intents and purposes, lawfully tending unto the preservation of all and singular the privileges, liberties, boundaries and immunities of this Colony, as according unto the true intent and meaning of all contained in our said Charter, against all unlawful usurpations, intrusions and claims, of any person or persons, on any pretences, or by any combination whatsoever, not doubting but the same gracious hand of Providence, which moved the most potent and royal power abovesaid to give and grant us the abovesaid free Charter, will also still continue to preserve us, in our just rights and privileges, by the gracious favor of the power and royal Majesty abovesaid, whereunto we acknowledge all humble submission and loyal subjection, &c.

Given in the twelfth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord, Charles the second, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c., at the General Court holden for the colony of Providence Plantations, at Warwick, the 18th day of October An: Dom. 1660.

To our trusty and well beloved friend and agent, Mr. John Clarke of Rhode-Island, Physician, now residing in London or Westminster.

Ordered to be subscribed by the General Recorder, with the seal of the Colony annexed.

[Colony Records.]



## No. XXI.—[p. 100.]

*The Charter granted by King Charles II., July 8, 1663.*

CHARLES THE SECOND, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c., to all to whom these presents shall come, greeting: Whereas, we have been informed, by the humble petition of our trusty and well beloved subject, John Clarke, on the behalf of Benjamin Arnold, William Brenton, William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, William Boulston, John Porter, John Smith, Samuel Gorton, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Coggeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, Samuel Wildbore, William Field, James Barker, Richard Tew, Thomas Harris, and William Dyre, and the rest of the purchasers and free inhabitants of our Island called Rhode-Island, and the rest of the Colony of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New-England, in America, that they, pursuing, with peaceable and loyal minds, their sober, serious and religious intentions, of godly edifying themselves, and one another, in the holy Christian faith and worship, as they were persuaded; together with the gaining over and conversion of the poor ignorant Indian natives, in those parts of America, to the sincere profession and obedience of the same faith and worship, did, not only by the consent and good encouragement of our royal progenitors, transport themselves out of this kingdom of England into America; but also, since their arrival there, after their first settlement amongst other our subjects in those parts, for the

avoiding of discord, and those many evils which were likely to ensue upon some of those our subjects not being able to bear, in these remote parts, their different apprehensions in religious concerns, and in pursuance of the aforesaid ends, did once again leave their desirable stations and habitations, and with excessive labor and travel, hazard and charge, did transplant themselves into the midst of the Indian natives, who, as we are informed, are the most potent princes and people of all that country; where, by the good Providence of God, from whom the Plantations have taken their name, upon their labor and industry, they have not only been preserved to admiration, but have increased and prospered, and are seized and possessed, by purchase and consent of the said natives, to their full content, of such lands, islands, rivers, harbors and roads, as are very convenient, both for plantations, and also for building of ships, supply of pipe-staves, and other merchandise; and which lie very commodious, in many respects, for commerce, and to accommodate our southern plantations, and may much advance the trade of this our realm, and greatly enlarge the territories thereof; they having, by near neighborhood to, and friendly society with, the great body of the Narragansett Indians, given them encouragement, of their own accord, to subject themselves, their people and lands, unto us; whereby, as is hoped, there may, in time, by the blessing of God upon their endeavors, be laid a sure foundation of happiness to all America: And whereas, in their humble address, they have freely declared, that it is much on their hearts (if they may be permitted) to hold forth a lively experiment, that a most flourishing civil state may stand and best be maintained, and that among our English subjects, with a

full liberty in religious concernments ; and that true piety, rightly grounded upon gospel principles, will give the best and greatest security to sovereignty, and will lay in the hearts of men the strongest obligations to true loyalty: Now know ye, that we, being willing to encourage the hopeful undertaking of our said loyal and loving subjects, and to secure them in the free exercise and enjoyment of all their civil and religious rights, appertaining to them, as our loving subjects ; and to preserve unto them that liberty, in the true Christian faith and worship of God, which they have sought with so much travel, and with peaceable minds, and loyal subjection to our royal progenitors and ourselves, to enjoy ; and because some of the people and inhabitants of the same Colony cannot, in their private opinions, conform to the public exercise of religion, according to the liturgy, forms and ceremonies of the Church of England, or take or subscribe the oaths and articles made and established in that behalf ; and for that the same, by reason of the remote distances of those places, will (as we hope) be no breach of the unity and uniformity established in this nation: Have therefore thought fit, and do hereby publish, grant, ordain and declare, That our royal will and pleasure is, that no person within the said Colony, at any time hereafter, shall be any wise molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question, for any differences in opinion in matters of religion, and do not actually disturb the civil peace of our said Colony ; but that all and every person and persons may, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, freely and fully have and enjoy his and their own judgments and consciences, in matters of religious concernments, throughout the tract of land hereafter mentioned, they behaving themselves

peaceably and quietly, and not using this liberty to licentiousness and profaneness, nor to the civil injury or outward disturbance of others ; any law, statute, or clause therein contained, or to be contained, usage or custom of this realm, to the contrary hereof, in any wise, notwithstanding. And that they may be in the better capacity to defend themselves, in their just rights and liberties, against all the enemies of the Christian faith, and others, in all respects, we have further thought fit, and at the humble petition of the persons aforesaid are graciously pleased to declare, That they shall have and enjoy the benefit of our late act of indemnity and free pardon, as the rest of our subjects in other our dominions and territories have ; and to create and make them a body politic or corporate, with the powers and privileges hereinafter mentioned. And accordingly our will and pleasure is, and of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have ordained, constituted and declared, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do ordain, constitute and declare, That they, the said William Brenton, William Coddington, Nicholas Easton, Benedict Arnold, William Boulston, John Porter, Samuel Gorton, John Smith, John Weeks, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, Gregory Dexter, John Coggeshall, Joseph Clarke, Randall Holden, John Greene, John Roome, William Dyre, Samuel Wildbore, Richard Tew, William Field, Thomas Harris, James Barker, ——— Rainsborrow, ——— Williams, and John Nickson, and all such others as now are, or hereafter shall be, admitted and made free of the company and society of our Colony of Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New-England, shall be, from time to time, and forever hereafter, a body corporate and

politic, in fact and name, by the name of *The Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America*; and that, by the same name, they and their successors shall and may have perpetual succession, and shall and may be persons able and capable, in the law, to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, to answer and be answered unto, to defend and to be defended, in all and singular suits, causes, quarrels, matters, actions and things, of what kind or nature soever; and also to have, take, possess, acquire and purchase, lands, tenements or hereditaments, or any goods or chattels, and the same to lease, grant, demise, aliene, bargain, sell and dispose of, at their own will and pleasure, as other our liege people, of this our realm of England, or any corporation or body politic within the same, may lawfully do. And further, that they the said Governor and Company, and their successors, shall and may, forever hereafter, have a common seal, to serve and use for all matters, causes, things and affairs, whatsoever, of them and their successors; and the same seal to alter, change, break, and make new, from time to time, at their will and pleasure, as they shall think fit. And further, we will and ordain, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do declare and appoint, that, for the better ordering and managing of the affairs and business of the said Company, and their successors, there shall be one Governor, one Deputy-Governor, and ten Assistants, to be, from time to time, constituted, elected and chosen, out of the freemen of the said Company, for the time being, in such manner and form as is hereafter in these presents expressed; which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the



best disposing and ordering of the general business and affairs of and concerning the lands and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people there. And, for the better execution of our royal pleasure herein, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, assign, name, constitute and appoint the aforesaid Benedict Arnold to be the first and present Governor of the said Company, and the said William Brenton to be the Deputy-Governor, and the said William Boulston, John Porter, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, John Smith, John Greene, John Coggeshall, James Barker, William Field, and Joseph Clarke, to be the ten present Assistants of the said Company, to continue in the said several offices, respectively, until the first Wednesday which shall be in the month of May now next coming. And further, we will, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do ordain and grant, that the Governor of the said Company, for the time being, or, in his absence, by occasion of sickness, or otherwise, by his leave and permission, the Deputy-Governor, for the time being, shall and may, from time to time, upon all occasions, give order for the assembling of the said Company, and calling them together, to consult and advise of the business and affairs of the said Company. And that forever hereafter, twice in every year, that is to say, on every first Wednesday in the month of May, and on every last Wednesday in October, or oftener, in case it shall be requisite, the Assistants, and such of the freemen of the said Company, not exceeding six persons for Newport, four persons for each of the respective towns of Providence, Portsmouth and Warwick, and two persons for each other place, town or city, who shall be, from time

to time, thereunto elected or deputed by the major part of the freemen of the respective towns or places for which they shall be so elected or deputed, shall have a general meeting or assembly, then and there to consult, advise and determine, in and about the affairs and business of the said Company and Plantations. And further, we do, of our especial grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, give and grant unto the said Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in New-England, in America, and their successors, that the Governor, or, in his absence, or by his permission, the Deputy-Governor of the said Company, for the time being, the Assistants, and such of the freemen of the said Company as shall be so as aforesaid elected or deputed, or so many of them as shall be present at such meeting or assembly, as aforesaid, shall be called the General Assembly; and that they, or the greatest part of them then present, whereof the Governor or Deputy-Governor, and six of the Assistants, at least to be seven, shall have, and have hereby given and granted unto them, full power and authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to appoint, alter and change, such days, times and places of meeting and General Assembly, as they shall think fit; and to choose, nominate and appoint, such and so many other persons as they shall think fit, and shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and body politic, and them into the same to admit; and to elect and constitute such offices and officers, and to grant such needful commissions, as they shall think fit and requisite, for the ordering, managing and despatching of the affairs of the said Governor and Company, and their successors; and, from time to time, to make, ordain,

constitute or repeal, such laws, statutes, orders and ordinances, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy, as to them shall seem meet, for the good and welfare of the said Company, and for the government and ordering of the lands and hereditaments, hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and of the people that do, or at any time hereafter shall, inhabit or be within the same ; so as such laws, ordinances and constitutions, so made, be not contrary and repugnant unto, but, as near as may be, agreeable to the laws of this our realm of England, considering the nature and constitution of the place and people there ; and also to appoint, order and direct, erect and settle, such places and courts of jurisdiction, for the hearing and determining of all actions, cases, matters and things, happening within the said Colony and Plantation, and which shall be in dispute, and depending there, as they shall think fit ; and also to distinguish and set forth the several names and titles, duties, powers and limits, of each court, office and officer, superior and inferior ; and also to contrive and appoint such forms of oaths and attestations, not repugnant, but, as near as may be, agreeable, as aforesaid, to the laws and statutes of this our realm, as are convenient and requisite, with respect to the due administration of justice, and due execution and discharge of all offices and places of trust by the persons that shall be therein concerned ; and also to regulate and order the way and manner of all elections to offices and places of trust, and to prescribe, limit and distinguish the numbers and bounds of all places, towns or cities, within the limits and bounds hereinafter mentioned, and not herein particularly named, who have, or shall have, the power of electing and sending of freemen to the said General As-

sembly ; and also to order, direct and authorize the imposing of lawful and reasonable fines, mulcts, imprisonments, and executing other punishments, pecuniary and corporal, upon offenders and delinquents, according to the course of other corporations within this our kingdom of England ; and again to alter, revoke, annul or pardon, under their common seal, or otherwise, such fines, mulcts, imprisonments, sentences, judgments and condemnations, as shall be thought fit ; and to direct, rule, order and dispose of, all other matters and things, and particularly that which relates to the making of purchases of the native Indians, as to them shall seem meet ; whereby our said people and inhabitants, in the said Plantations, may be so religiously, peaceably and civilly governed, as that, by their good life and orderly conversation, they may win and invite the native Indians of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God, and Saviour of mankind ; willing, commanding and requiring, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, ordaining and appointing, that all such laws, statutes, orders and ordinances, instructions, impositions and directions, as shall be so made by the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants and freemen, or such number of them as aforesaid, and published in writing, under their common seal, shall be carefully and duly observed, kept, performed and put in execution, according to the true intent and meaning of the same. And these our letters patent, or the duplicate or exemplification thereof, shall be to all and every such officers, superior and inferior, from time to time, for the putting of the same orders, laws, statutes, ordinances, instructions and directions, in due execution, against us, our heirs and successors, a sufficient warrant and dis-

charge. And further, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, establish and ordain, that yearly, once in the year, forever hereafter, namely, the aforesaid Wednesday in May, and at the town of Newport, or elsewhere, if urgent occasion do require, the Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants of the said Company, and other officers of the said Company, or such of them as the General Assembly shall think fit, shall be, in the said General Court or Assembly to be held from that day or time, newly chosen for the year ensuing, by such greater part of the said Company, for the time being, as shall be then and there present; and if it shall happen that the present Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants, by these presents appointed, or any such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their rooms, or any of them, or any other the officers of the said Company, shall die or be removed from his or their several offices or places, before the said general day of election, (whom we do hereby declare, for any misdemeanor or default, to be removable by the Governor, Assistants and Company, or such greater part of them, in any of the said public courts, to be assembled as aforesaid,) that then, and in every such case, it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants and Company aforesaid, or such greater part of them, so to be assembled as is aforesaid, in any their assemblies, to proceed to a new election of one or more of their Company, in the room or place, rooms or places, of such officer or officers, so dying or removed, according to their discretions; and immediately upon and after such election or elections made of such Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistant or Assistants, or any other officer of the said Company, in



manner and form aforesaid, the authority, office and power, before given to the former Governor, Deputy-Governor, and other officer and officers, so removed, in whose stead and place new shall be chosen, shall, as to him and them, and every of them, respectively, cease and determine : *Provided always*, and our will and pleasure is, that as well such as are by these presents appointed to be the present Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants, of the said Company, as those that shall succeed them, and all other officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid, shall, before the undertaking the execution of the said offices and places respectively, give their solemn engagement, by oath, or otherwise, for the due and faithful performance of their duties in their several offices and places, before such person or persons as are by these presents hereafter appointed to take and receive the same, that is to say : the said Benedict Arnold, who is hereinbefore nominated and appointed the present Governor of the said Company, shall give the aforesaid engagement before William Brenton, or any two of the said Assistants of the said Company ; unto whom we do by these presents give full power and authority to require and receive the same ; and the said William Brenton, who is hereby before nominated and appointed the present Deputy-Governor of the said Company, shall give the aforesaid engagement before the said Benedict Arnold, or any two of the Assistants of the said Company ; unto whom we do by these presents give full power and authority to require and receive the same ; and the said William Boulston, John Porter, Roger Williams, Thomas Olney, John Smith, John Greene, John Coggeshall, James Barker, William Field, and Joseph Clarke, who are hereinbefore nominated

and appointed the present Assistants of the said Company, shall give the said engagement to their officers and places respectively belonging, before the said Benedict Arnold and William Brenton, or one of them; to whom respectively we do hereby give full power and authority to require, administer or receive the same: and further, our will and pleasure is, that all and every other future Governor or Deputy-Governor, to be elected and chosen by virtue of these presents, shall give the said engagement before two or more of the said Assistants of the said Company for the time being; unto whom we do by these presents give full power and authority to require, administer or receive the same; and the said Assistants, and every of them, and all and every other officer or officers to be hereafter elected and chosen by virtue of these presents, from time to time, shall give the like engagements, to their offices and places respectively belonging, before the Governor or Deputy-Governor for the time being; unto which said Governor, or Deputy-Governor, we do by these presents give full power and authority to require, administer or receive the same accordingly. And we do likewise, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, by these presents, that, for the more peaceable and orderly government of the said Plantations, it shall and may be lawful for the Governor, Deputy-Governor, Assistants, and all other officers and ministers of the said Company, in the administration of justice, and exercise of government, in the said Plantations, to use, exercise, and put in execution, such methods, rules, orders and directions, not being contrary or repugnant to the laws and statutes of this our realm, as have been heretofore given,

used and accustomed, in such cases respectively, to be put in practice, until at the next, or some other General Assembly, special provision shall be made and ordained in the cases aforesaid. And we do further, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, by these presents, that it shall and may be lawful to and for the said Governor, or in his absence, the Deputy-Governor, and major part of the said Assistants, for the time being, at any time when the said General Assembly is not sitting, to nominate, appoint and constitute, such and so many commanders, governors and military officers, as to them shall seem requisite, for the leading, conducting and training up the inhabitants of the said Plantations in martial affairs, and for the defence and safeguard of the said Plantations; and that it shall and may be lawful to and for all and every such commander, governor and military officer, that shall be so as aforesaid, or by the Governor, or, in his absence, the Deputy-Governor, and six of the said Assistants, and major part of the freemen of the said Company present at any General Assemblies, nominated, appointed and constituted, according to the tenor of his and their respective commissions and directions, to assemble, exercise in arms, martial array, and put in warlike posture, the inhabitants of the said Colony, for their special defence and safety; and to lead and conduct the said inhabitants, and to encounter, expulse, expel and resist, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, and also to kill, slay and destroy, by all fitting ways, enterprises and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons as shall, at any time hereafter, attempt or enterprise the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of the said inhabitants or Planta-

tions ; and to use and exercise the law martial in such cases only as occasion shall necessarily require ; and to take or surprise, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person and persons, with their ship or ships, armor, ammunition, or other goods of such persons as shall, in hostile manner, invade or attempt the defeating of the said Plantation, or the hurt of the said Company and inhabitants ; and, upon just causes, to invade and destroy the native Indians, or other enemies of the said Colony. Nevertheless, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare to the rest of our Colonies in New-England, that it shall not be lawful for this our Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in America, in New-England, to invade the natives inhabiting within the bounds and limits of their said Colonies, without the knowledge and consent of the said other Colonies. And it is hereby declared, that it shall not be lawful to or for the rest of the Colonies to invade or molest the native Indians, or any other inhabitants, inhabiting within the bounds and limits hereafter mentioned, (they having subjected themselves unto us, and being by us taken into our special protection,) without the knowledge and consent of the Governor and Company of our Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations. Also our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby declare unto all Christian Kings, Princes and States, that if any person, which shall hereafter be of the said Company or Plantation, or any other, by appointment of the said Governor and Company for the time being, shall, at any time or times hereafter, rob or spoil, by sea or land, or do any hurt or unlawful hostility to any of the subjects of us, our heirs or successors, or any of the subjects of any Prince or State, being

then in league with us, our heirs or successors, upon complaint of such injury done to any such Prince or State, or their subjects, we, our heirs and successors, will make open proclamation within any parts of our realm of England, fit for that purpose, that the person or persons committing any such robbery or spoil shall, within the time limited by such proclamation, make full restitution or satisfaction of all such injuries, done or committed, so as the said Prince, or others so complaining, may be fully satisfied and contented ; and, if the said person or persons who shall commit any such robbery or spoil, shall not make satisfaction, accordingly, within such time, so to be limited, that then we, our heirs and successors, will put such person or persons out of our allegiance and protection; and that then it shall and may be lawful and free for all Princes or others, to prosecute, with hostility, such offenders, and every of them, their and every of their procurers, aiders, abettors and counsellors, in that behalf : *Provided also*, and our express will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and appoint, that these presents shall not, in any manner, hinder any of our loving subjects, whatsoever, from using and exercising the trade of fishing upon the coast of New-England, in America ; but that they, and every or any of them, shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and use the trade of fishing upon the said coast, in any of the seas thereunto adjoining, or any arms of the seas, or salt water, rivers and creeks, where they have been accustomed to fish ; and to build and set upon the waste land, belonging to the said Colony and Plantations, such wharves, stages and work-houses, as shall be necessary for the salting, drying and keeping of



their fish, to be taken or gotten upon that coast. And further, for the encouragement of the inhabitants of our said Colony of Providence Plantations to set upon the business of taking whales, it shall be lawful for them, or any of them, having struck whale, dubertus, or other great fish, it or them to pursue unto any part of that coast, and into any bay, river, cove, creek or shore, belonging thereto, and it or them, upon the said coast, or in the said bay, river, cove, creek or shore, belonging thereto, to kill and order for the best advantage, without molestation, they making no wilful waste or spoil; any thing in these presents contained, or any other matter or thing, to the contrary notwithstanding. And further also, we are graciously pleased, and do hereby declare, that if any of the inhabitants of our said Colony do set upon the planting of vineyards (the soil and climate both seeming naturally to concur to the production of wines) or be industrious in the discovery of fishing banks, in or about the said Colony, we will, from time to time, give and allow all due and fitting encouragement therein, as to others in cases of like nature. And further, of our more ample grace, certain knowledge, and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, in New-England, in America, and to every inhabitant there, and to every person and persons trading thither, and to every such person or persons as are or shall be free of the said Colony, full power and authority, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, to take, ship, transport and carry away, out of any of our realms and dominions, for and towards

the plantation and defence of the said Colony, such and so many of our loving subjects and strangers as shall or will willingly accompany them in and to their said Colony and Plantation; except such person or persons as are or shall be therein restrained by us, our heirs and successors, or any law or statute of this realm: and also to ship and transport all and all manner of goods, chattels, merchandises, and other things whatsoever, that are or shall be useful or necessary for the said Plantations, and defence thereof, and usually transported, and not prohibited by any law or statute of this our realm; yielding and paying unto us, our heirs and successors, such the duties, customs and subsidies, as are or ought to be paid or payable for the same. And further, our will and pleasure is, and we do, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain, declare and grant, unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, that all and every the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, which are already planted and settled within our said Colony of Providence Plantations, or which shall hereafter go to inhabit within the said Colony, and all and every of their children, which have been born there, or which shall happen hereafter to be born there, or on the sea, going thither, or returning from thence, shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any the dominions of us, our heirs or successors, to all intents, constructions and purposes, whatsoever, as if they, and every of them, were born within the realm of England. And further, know ye, that we, of our more abundant grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, have given, granted and confirmed, and, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give, grant and confirm, unto the said Governor and

Company, and their successors, all that part of our dominions in New-England, in America, containing the Nahantick and Nanhyganset, alias Narragansett Bay, and countries and parts adjacent, bounded on the west, or westerly, to the middle or channel of a river there, commonly called and known by the name of Pawcatuck, alias Pawcawtuck river, and so along the said river, as the greater or middle stream thereof reacheth or lies up into the north country, northward, unto the head thereof, and from thence, by a strait line drawn due north, until it meets with the south line of the Massachusetts Colony; and on the north, or northerly, by the aforesaid south or southerly line of the Massachusetts Colony or Plantation, and extending towards the east, or eastwardly, three English miles to the east and north-east of the most eastern and north-eastern parts of the aforesaid Narragansett Bay, as the said bay lyeth or extendeth itself from the ocean on the south, or southwardly, unto the mouth of the river which runneth towards the town of Providence, and from thence along the eastwardly side or bank of the said river (higher called by the name of Seacunck river) up to the falls called Patuckett falls, being the most westwardly line of Plymouth Colony, and so from the said falls, in a strait line, due north, until it meet with the aforesaid line of the Massachusetts Colony; and bounded on the south by the ocean: and, in particular, the lands belonging to the towns of Providence, Pawtuxet, Warwick, Misquamacock, alias Pawcatuck, and the rest upon the main land in the tract aforesaid, together with Rhode-Island, Block-Island, and all the rest of the islands and banks in the Narragansett Bay, and bordering upon the coast of the tract aforesaid, (Fisher's Island only excepted,) together with

all firm lands, soils, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings, mines royal, and all other mines, minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, wood-grounds, rocks, slates, and all and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises, preheminences and hereditaments, whatsoever, within the said tract, bounds, lands and islands, aforesaid, or to them or any of them belonging, or in any wise appertaining: *to have and to hold* the same, unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, forever, upon trust, for the use and benefit of themselves and their associates, freemen of the said Colony, their heirs and assigns, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of the Manor of East-Greenwich, in our county of Kent, in free and common soccage, and not in capite, nor by knight service; yielding and paying therefor, to us, our heirs and successors, only the fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver, which, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall be there gotten, had, or obtained, in lieu and satisfaction of all services, duties, fines, forfeitures, made or to be made, claims and demands whatsoever, to be to us, our heirs or successors, therefor or thereout rendered, made, or paid, any grant, or clause in a late grant, to the Governor and Company of Connecticut Colony, in America, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding; the aforesaid Pawcatuck river having been yielded, after much debate, for the fixed and certain bounds between these our said Colonies, by the agents thereof; who have also agreed, that the said Pawcatuck river shall be also called alias Norrogansett or Narrogansett river; and, to prevent future disputes, that otherwise might arise thereby, forever hereafter shall be construed, deemed and taken to be the Narrogansett river

in our late grant to Connecticut Colony mentioned as the easterly bounds of that Colony. And further, our will and pleasure is, that in all matters of public controversy, which may fall out between our Colony of Providence Plantations, and the rest of our Colonies in New-England, it shall and may be lawful to and for the Governor and Company of the said Colony of Providence Plantations, to make their appeals therein to us, our heirs and successors, for redress in such cases, within this our realm of England : and that it shall be lawful to and for the inhabitants of the said Colony of Providence Plantations, without let or molestation, to pass and repass, with freedom, into and through the rest of the English Colonies, upon their lawful and civil occasions, and to converse, and hold commerce and trade, with such of the inhabitants of our other English Colonies as shall be willing to admit them thereunto, they behaving themselves peaceably among them ; any act, clause, or sentence, in any of the said Colonies provided, or that shall be provided, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And lastly, we do, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and grant unto the said Governor and Company, and their successors, by these presents, that these our letters patent shall be firm, good, effectual, and available in all things in the law, to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever, according to our true intent and meaning hereinbefore declared ; and shall be construed, reputed and adjudged in all cases most favorably on the behalf, and for the best benefit and behoof, of the said Governor and Company, and their successors ; although express mention of the true yearly value or certainty of the premises, or any of them, or of any other gifts or grants by us, or by any of our progeni-



tors or predecessors, heretofore made to the said Governor and Company of the English Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, in the Narragansett Bay, New-England, in America, in these presents is not made, or any statute, act, ordinance, provision, proclamation or restriction, heretofore had, made, enacted, ordained or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoever, to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof, we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourself at Westminster, the eighth day of July, in the fifteenth year of our reign.

*By the King :*

HOWARD.

The above Charter has been copied from the *Laws of the State of Rhode-Island*, published in 1822, under the superintendence of the Hon. Henry Bowen, Secretary of the State, and compared with the original. Some of the copies, in other publications, are incorrect. A persuasion that comparatively few of our citizens possess an accurate copy of this document, which is distinguished for its enlarged and enlightened principles of civil and religious freedom, and which continues still to be the fundamental law of the State, has induced its insertion in this volume.

The Charter was obtained at an auspicious moment, when Charles II., having recently ascended the throne, was not disposed to deny favors to any of his subjects. By this Charter all the powers of

government were conferred upon the Colony, the King not having reserved to himself the right of revising its proceedings. At no other period, probably, could such extensive privileges have been obtained.

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## No. XXII.

### *Decision of Carr, &c., relative to Misquamacock.*

We, by the power given us by his Majesty's commission, having heard the complaints of some of his Majesty's subjects, purchasers of certain lands called Misquamacock, lying on the eastern side of Pawcatuck river, and having likewise heard all the pretences of those by whom they have suffered great oppressions, and considering the grounds from whence these differences and injuries have proceeded, and endeavoring to prevent the like for the future, do declare, that no colony hath any just right to dispose of any lands, conquered from the natives, unless both the cause of that conquest be just, and the lands lie within those bounds which the King by his charter hath given it, nor to exercise any authority beyond those bounds; which we desire all his Majesty's subjects to take notice of for the future, lest they incur his Majesty's displeasure, and suffer a deserved punishment. We likewise declare, that all those gifts or grants of any lands, lying on the eastern side of Pawcatuck river, and a north line drawn to the Massachusetts, from the midst of the ford near to Thomas Shaw's house, and in the King's

Province, made by his Majesty's Colony of the Massachusetts, to any person whatsoever, or by that usurped authority called the United Colonies, to be void. And we hereby command all such as are therein concerned to remove themselves and their goods from the said lands, before the nine and twentieth day of September next. In the mean time, neither hindering the Pequot Indians from planting there this summer, nor those of the King's Province, who are the purchasers, from improving the same, as they will answer the contrary. Given under our hands and seals, at Warwick, April 4th. 1665.

ROBERT CARR, [L. S.]

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT, [L. S.]

SAMUEL MAVERICK, [L. S.]

[Colony Records.]

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### No. XXIII.

#### *Commission from Carr, &c., 1665.*

Whereas, by the authority given us by his sacred Majesty, our dread Sovereign, to provide for the peace and safety of all his Colonies here in America, and in a more especial manner for that part of it called the Narragansett country, and by his Majesty commanded now to be called the King's Province: We did, by commission under our hands and seals, dated at Petaqumskocte March the twentieth 1664, appoint, authorize, and in his Majesty's name require, Benedict Arnold, William Brenton, Esquires, John Coggeshall, James Barker, Joseph Clarke, William Field, Thomas Olney, Roger Williams, William Baulston,

John Sanford, Randall Howldon, Walter Todd, John Porter and John Greene, Gentlemen, to exercise the power and authority of Justices of the peace or magistrates, throughout the whole compass of this his Majesty's Province, and to do whatsoever they think best for the peace and safety of the said Province, and as near as they can to the English laws, till his Majesty's pleasure be farther known therein; and in matters of greater consequence, any seven of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy Governor shall be one, shall be a Court to determine any business: Our intent and meaning was and is, that the said commission should be no longer in force, than until the 3d. of May next, and that then and thenceforward, the Governor and Deputy Governor, and all the Assistants for the time being of his Majesty's Colony of Rhode-Island &c. shall be Justices of the peace. And therefore by the power given us from his Majesty, we order and appoint the Governor and Deputy Governor, and all the Assistants of the said Colony, for the time being, to be and to exercise the authority of Justices of the peace in this the King's Province, and to do whatever they think best for the peace and safety of the said Province, and as near as they can to the English laws, till his Majesty's pleasure be farther known therein; and in matters of greater consequence, any seven of them, whereof the Governor or Deputy Governor shall be one, shall be a Court to determine any business. Given under our hands and seals, at Warwick, April 8th. 1665.

ROBERT CARR, [L. S.]

GEORGE CARTWRIGHT, [L. S.]

SAMUEL MAVERICK, [L. S.]

[Colony Records.]

## No. XXIV.—[p. 120.]

*Episcopal Church.*

The following account of the establishment of the Episcopal Church in Rhode-Island is taken from an historical account of the "Society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, by David Humphries, D. D., Secretary to the Society, London, 1730."

"In September 1702, the Church-wardens of Rhode-Island, wrote to the Society, 'That they cannot forbear expressing their great joy in being under the patronage of so honorable a Corporation, through whose pious endeavors, with God's assistance, the Church of England hath so fair a prospect of flourishing in those remote parts of the world, and among the rest of her small branches, theirs also in Rhode-Island: That though it is not four years since they began to assemble themselves together to worship God after the manner of the Church of England, yet have they built them a church, finished all on the outside, and the inside is pewed well, though not beautiful; and whatsoever favors the Society shall bestow upon them towards the promoting of their Church, shall be received with the humblest gratitude, and seconded with the utmost of their abilities.' p. 61, 62.

"The Society resolved to send a Missionary hither, both on account of their being the first, and also a numerous people, settled on a flourishing Island. The Rev. Mr. Honyman was appointed in 1704. He discharged



the duties of his mission with great diligence. p. 318, 319. He represented also very earnestly to the Society, the want of a Missionary at a town called Providence, about thirty miles from Newport, a place very considerable for the number of its inhabitants. The Society appointed in the next year (1723) the Rev. Mr. Pigot Missionary there. Besides the faithful discharge of his duty at his own station, Mr. Honyman hath been farther instrumental in gathering several congregations at Naragansett, Tiverton, Freetown, and at the above mentioned place, Providence. p. 320, 321.

“The people of Naragansett county (North-Kingston) made application to the Bishop of London, about the year 1707, for a Missionary, and built a church soon after by the voluntary contributions of its inhabitants. In the year 1717, the Society appointed the Rev. Mr. Guy to that place; he arrived there soon after, and entered upon his mission with much zeal. He removed to South-Carolina, in 1719. The Rev. Mr. M’cSparan was appointed Missionary there in 1720. p. 324, 326.

“The chief inhabitants of Bristol, in the year 1720, wrote very earnest letters to the Bishop of London and to the Society, for a Minister of the Church of England, and promised to build a church. The Rev. Mr. Orrem was sent Missionary here in 1722. Mr. Orrem gained the esteem and affection of the people very much, and proceeded in his mission with success.” p. 331, 332.

## No. XXV.—[p. 126.]

*Philip's War.*

On the 29th of March, 1676, a large body of Indians attacked Providence and burned more than thirty houses in the north part of the town, in one of which were the town records. They were saved by being thrown into the Mooshausick; from thence they were afterwards taken, though much injured, and sent to Newport for safe keeping, where they remained during the remainder of the war.

*Philip's War* lasted more than a year, and was the most distressing period that New-England had ever seen, and threatened the total extirpation of her colonies. About six hundred men, the flower of her strength, fell in battle or were butchered by the savages. In Massachusetts, Plymouth and Rhode-Island, twelve or thirteen towns were utterly destroyed. About six hundred dwelling houses were burned; a heavy debt was contracted, and a vast amount of property destroyed. There were few families who did not lose some beloved relative in this calamitous war, and a general gloom spread through the country.

## No. XXVI.

*A list of the Presidents of the Colony of Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations, under the first Patent; and of the Governors, under the second Charter, collected from the State Records.*

*Presidents under the first Patent.*

1647 John Coggeshall, to	1648
1648 Jeremiah Clarke, to	1649
1649 John Smith, to	1650
1650 Nicholas Easton, to	1652

In the year 1651, William Coddington went to England, and procured from the Council of State, a commission, dated April 3, 1651, constituting him Governor for life of Rhode-Island, Canonicut, &c., with which he returned about the 1st of August, of that year. This produced much uneasiness in the Colony. All the inhabitants on the main, refused to submit to Coddington's government. The Colony appointed Roger Williams and John Clarke to proceed to England, to procure the repeal of Coddington's commission. After much opposition, they effected this in 1652. Mr. Williams returned, and at a General Election, held at Warwick, on the 12th of September, 1654, was chosen President of the Colony. Dr. Clarke continued in England as the Colony's agent, till he obtained the Charter granted by Charles II. in 1663.

1654 Roger Williams, to	1657
1657 Benedict Arnold, to	1660

1660 William Brenton, to	1662
1662 Benedict Arnold, to	1663

*Governors under the second Charter.*

1663 Benedict Arnold, to	1666
1666 William Brenton, to	1669
1669 Benedict Arnold, to	1672
1672 Nicholas Easton, to	1674
1674 William Coddington, to	1676
1676 Walter Clarke, to	1677
1677 Benedict Arnold, to	1679
1679 John Cranston, to	1680
1680 Peleg Sanford, to	1683
1683 William Coddington, to	1685
1685 Henry Bull, to	1686
1686 Walter Clarke	
1686 The Charter superseded by Sir Edmund Andross, but restored in	
1689 Henry Bull, to	1690
1690 John Easton, to	1695
1695 Caleb Carr, to	1696
1696 Walter Clarke, to	1698
1698 Samuel Cranston, to	1727
1727 Joseph Jenckes, to	1732
1732 William Wanton, to	1734
1734 John Wanton, to	1741
1741 Richard Ward, to	1743
1743 William Greene, to	1745
1745 Gideon Wanton, to	1746
1746 William Greene, to	1747

1747	Gideon Wanton, to	1748
1748	William Greene, to	1755
1755	Stephen Hopkins, to	1757
1757	William Greene, to	1758
1758	Stephen Hopkins, to	1762
1762	Samuel Ward, to	1763
1763	Stephen Hopkins, to	1765
1765	Samuel Ward, to	1767
1767	Stephen Hopkins, to	1768
1768	Josias Lyndon, to	1769
1769	Joseph Wanton, to	1775
1775	Nicholas Cooke, to	1778
1778	William Greene, to	1786
1786	John Collins, to	1789
1789	Arthur Fenner, to	1805
1805	Henry Smith, <i>acting Governor</i> to	1806
1806	Isaac Wilbour, <i>lieutenant Governor</i> to	1807
1807	James Fenner, to	1811
1811	William Jones, to	1817
1817	Nehemiah R. Knight, to	1821
1821	William C. Gibbs, to	1824
1824	James Fenner, to	1831
1831	Lemuel H. Arnold, to	1833
1833	John Brown Francis.	



DUPLICATE

AN

# HISTORICAL SKETCH

OF THE

# FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON,

FROM

ITS FORMATION TO THE PRESENT PERIOD.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

## TWO SERMONS,

ONE ON LEAVING THE OLD, AND THE OTHER ON ENTERING  
THE NEW HOUSE OF WORSHIP.

---

BY THE LATE

REV. WILLIAM EMERSON, A.M. A.A.S. & S.H.S.

THE TWELFTH PASTOR OF SAID CHURCH.

---

BOSTON,

PUBLISHED BY MUNROE & FRANCIS,

NO. 4, CORNHILL.

1812.

DUPLICATE

DUPLICATE

**DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT ;**

District Clerk's Office.

BE it remembered, That, on the twenty-sixth day of December, A. D. 1811, and in the thirty-sixth year of the Independence of the United States of America, RUTH EMERSON, of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof she claims, as proprietor, in the words following, to wit ;

“ An HISTORICAL SKETCH of the FIRST CHURCH IN BOSTON, from its formation to the present period. To which are added Two Sermons, one on leaving the old, and the other on entering the new house of worship. By the late Rev. WILLIAM EMERSON, A.M. A.A.S. & S.H.S. the twelfth pastor of said church.”

In conformity to the act of the congress of the United States, entitled, “ An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned ;” and also to an act, entitled, “ An act supplementary to an act, entitled, an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned ; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints.”

WILLIAM S. SHAW,  
Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.

## ADVERTISEMENT OF THE EDITORS.

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THE following work is published, without material alterations, as it was left by the author.

It is to be regretted, that he did not live to complete his design.

To what was prepared respecting Dr. Chauncy is added a sketch of his family by Dr. Clarke.\*

As several of the author's late society have earnestly requested, that this history should contain some records of their two last beloved pastors, accounts of them have been added from documents, which have been already published.

The notice of Dr. Clarke is from the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. vi. p. 3. consisting of a "Sketch of the life and character of Rev. Dr. Clarke," supposed to be written by Rev. Dr. Belknap ; and an extract from President Willard's discourse, delivered at First Church, the sunday after the decease of Dr. Clarke.

The account of Mr. Emerson is extracted from the discourse, delivered at his funeral by Rev. Joseph S. Buckminster, minister of Brattle-street church.

To the whole are added, agreeably to the original design of the author, two sermons ; one preached, on leaving the old house of worship in Cornhill ; the other, at the dedication of the new meeting-house in Chauncy-place.

25 Dec. 1811.

\* Published in an appendix to his sermon on the death of Dr. Chauncy.

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AN  
HISTORICAL SKETCH  
OF THE  
**FIRST CHURCH.**

---

**SECTION I.**

From the formation of the Church, 1630, to the settlement of  
Mr. Cotton, 1633.

**T**HE four men particularly eminent and active in SECT. I.  
laying the foundation of the First Church in 1630.  
Boston were John Winthrop, Isaac Johnson,  
Thomas Dudley, and John Wilson.

The first of these illustrious characters was the  
first governour of Massachusetts.

The second was a gentleman of family and  
fortune, who, with his honourable lady, was swept  
away by the ravages of a mortal disease in the  
infancy of the settlement.

Mr. Dudley was a long time deputy-governour,  
and afterwards governour of the colony.

Mr. Wilson was a minister of religion, abound-  
ing in zeal, prudence, and charity.



## SECT. I.

1630.

Such were the leaders in the honourable enterprise of founding a religious colony. With others of similar religious and political opinions, they had for some time belonged to an association in London, called "The governour and company of Massachusetts Bay." On leaving England, they brought with them the patent, or charter, of the plantation. The members of this company were distinguished, among the settlers of the American wilderness, for piety, wealth, talents, and liberality. In principle indeed they were puritans ; but they never seceded from the episcopal church, until they left their country.

17 June.

The Arabella, the vessel, in which they crossed the Atlantick, anchored in Massachusetts Bay, on the 17 June, 1630. After exploring Mystick river, they came ashore at Charlestown, on the first of July, with a view to a permanent residence.

8 July.

8 July, a thanksgiving was observed in the several plantations, and on the 23 August, the first court of assistants was holden on board the Arabella.

23 Aug.

The first question agitated was, How shall the ministers be maintained ? It was agreed, that Mr. Phillips, minister of the Watertown plantation, should have 30*l.* a year, and Mr. Wilson 20*l.*, until his wife, whom he had left in England, should come over, when he was to have the same. Sir R. Saltonstall undertook to see, that the agreement should be fulfilled in regard to

Mr. Phillips, and governour Winthrop assumed the same care for the salary of Mr. Wilson. SECT. I.

1630.

As soon, as a few civil arrangements had been made, it was determined, that a church should be regularly imbodyed.

On the 27 August therefore a fast was appointed, a covenant formed and subscribed, Mr. Wilson was chosen teacher, Mr. Nowell an elder, and Mr. Gager and Mr. Aspinwall deacons. These gentlemen were severally confirmed in office by the imposition of hands and by prayer. It was however universally understood, that the ceremony, as it respected Mr. Wilson, did not imply a renunciation of the ministry, which he received in England. 27 Aug

The following is the form of covenant, which was subscribed by the members.

*“ In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and in obedience to his holy will and divine ordinance,*

*“ We, whose names are here underwritten, being by his most wise and good providence brought together into this part of America, in the Bay of Massachusetts, and desirous to unite into one congregation or church, under the Lord Jesus Christ, our head, in such sort, as becometh all those, whom he hath redeemed, and sanctified to himself, do hereby solemnly and religiously, as in his most holy presence, promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the gospel, and in all sincere conformity to his holy ordinances, and in mutual love and*

SECT I. respect to each other so near, as God shall give  
 1630. us grace."

Probably sixty-four men and half as many women immediately signed this religious obligation.

The first meeting-place of the congregation was in the umbrage of a large tree. Whether they had better accommodations, during their continuance at Charlestown, and of how many weeks or months exactly that continuance was, it is perhaps impossible to say. It is certain, that the settlers had scarcely rested, before they perceived, that the south side of the Charles was preferable to the north, both for commerce and situation. Of course they began to remove to the peninsula. At first those, who had thus removed, went back to worship at Charlestown on the Lord's days. In a little time, publick worship was celebrated alternately on each side of the river. At length the First Church took its station altogether in Trimontane, which was soon called Boston, after a place of the same name in Lincolnshire, England, where some of the emigrants were born, and whence they expected Mr. Cotton, a congregational minister of superlative worth.

Early in 1631, Mr. Wilson made a visit to England. On the morning of the 29 March, he had an affectionate meeting, at the governour's, with a number of the brethren, where he commended them in prayer to God, and exhorted them to steadfastness in faith, purity, and brotherly love. He recommended to them the strict observance

of religious rites, during his absence ; and, as  
governour Winthrop, deputy-governour Dudley, and elder Nowell, in his opinion, were best  
qualified to lead the devotions and supply the instructions of the congregation, so he in a manner  
consecrated them to the temporary execution of  
pastoral duties. He sailed from Salem, 1 April,  
and arrived in London, the 29th of the same  
month. But his place was soon after supplied  
by Rev. Mr. Eliot.

SECT. I.

1651.

Although the founders of Massachusetts and of  
our church forsook their native country with the  
express design of enjoying perfect liberty of conscience ; and, although doubtless it was the original  
intention to preserve ecclesiastical affairs distinct from those of the state, yet these interests  
became immediately blended.

The church at Salem had called Mr. Roger Williams to the office of teacher. It had been  
said of this man, that he refused communion with  
the church in Boston, because its members would  
not make a publick declaration of their repentance  
for having continued their connexion with the  
episcopal church, whilst they remained in England. He had also taught, that the magistrate  
ought not to punish breaches of the sabbath, nor  
any offence against those laws of God, which relate solely to his worship. Alarmed at this degree of liberality, the magistrates immediately  
signified to Mr. Endicott their dissatisfaction with  
the proceedings of the Salem church ; and even  
notified to Mr. Williams himself their pleasure,

SECT. I. that he would not suffer the union to be consum-  
1631. mated, until their permission should be known.

In the exercise of the same power, derived partly from their civil capacity, and partly from their standing in the church, the governour, deputy-governour, and elder went to Watertown to inquire into an opinion maintained in that church, that the church of Rome was right. After the matter was debated before numbers of both congregations, the opinion of the Watertown elder, whose name was Brown, with the general approbation, was condemned as erroneous.

The difficulty did not here terminate. Elder Brown persisted in his errour. The Court was applied to, interfered, and wrote to the First Church to consider the propriety of his continuance in office. The Church answered, that if the Court would prove the allegations, she would silence the offender. At length, Messieurs Winthrop, Dudley, and Nowell repaired to Watertown, where the congregation was divided on the subject in question. The governour said, "We have come to you, as peacemakers. You may choose, whether we shall enter upon the investigation of the controversy in the character of magistrates, as members of a neighbouring congregation, or as referees, not satisfied with the notice, you have taken of our previous advice." Mr. Phillips, the pastor, desired them to act as members of a neighbouring congregation only. On this condition a hearing was had, in which both



parties complained, relented, and promised the adoption of conciliatory measures.

SECT. I.

1632.

26 May.

The affairs of the church as well, as of the plantation, were prosperous ; though occasions were not wanting of debate among individuals and in the community. Instances of political interferences with ecclesiastical concerns were often taking place. No church could be gathered without permission from the magistrates ; and none could be a magistrate, nor even vote for a magistrate, unless he was member of a church thus politically gathered. In this politico-religious condition, questions would frequently arise respecting the nature, qualifications, and power of various offices. They were at a loss, for example, whether the same person, at the same time, might be a civil magistrate and a ruling elder. If not, which should he lay down, what should be done ? Might there be divers pastors in the same church ? These questions the church proposed to the consideration of her sister churches in Plymouth and in Salem.

The first question was answered unanimously in the negative ; and thenceforth Mr. Nowell relinquished his office in the church, and devoted himself entirely to the duties of a civilian.

The second received a doubtful answer ; because the answer to the first involved an experiment, the results of which were not known.

To the third was given the same kind of reply ; because the respondents did not wish to deprive the church of any means of improvement she

SECT. I. could fairly enjoy ; and, at the same time, they  
1632. were not ignorant of the rivalry and feuds, which  
are the natural, though not unavoidable, consequence of placing two or more persons with equal powers in the same office.

On the return of Mr. Wilson from London, which was on the 26 May, 1632, the congregation began to build a house for publick worship, and another for the pastor. Towards these purposes they made a voluntary contribution of 120*l*. They erected the church on the south side of State-Street, not far from the spot, on which the Exchange has been newly reared. Its roof was thatched, and its walls were of mud.

As the season grew late, and the weather severe, those members of the congregation, who belonged to Charlestown, found it troublesome to worship in Boston. Accordingly they signified their desire to constitute a new society on the north side of the river. The 11 October was set apart for seeking direction of God ; and, on the 14th, thirty-three persons were peaceably dismissed from their relation to the church. They then elected Mr. James their teacher, and formed what is now the congregational church in Charlestown.\*

The congregation now fixed their eyes, for a teacher, on Mr. John Eliot, who had arrived the

\* “ And now upon this separation I find the number of males in the church of Boston (after nigh two years continuance here, in which time doubtless additions were made to it,) amounted but to about 70 or 80, the body of the inhabitants.” [Foxcroft’s Cent. Sermon.]

preceding year, and had officiated, for the most part, during Mr. Wilson's absence, and who afterwards immortalized his name by his apostleship among the Indians. But he had already determined on a settlement at Roxbury, and would not be persuaded to alter his resolution.

SECT. I.

1632.

The 22 November was solemnized, as a fast, on which Mr. Wilson, hitherto the teacher, was ordained the pastor of the church. At the same time were elected Mr. Oliver a ruling elder, and two deacons, on all of whom hands were imposed, as a sign of consecration.

One hundred and thirty men, and ninety women had now become members of the church. But, besides the loss of the Charlestown members, several had died, several others had removed to Salem, and a few had returned to England. Probably the church did not now number more, than a hundred communicants. Four children were baptized in the first year, eleven in the second, three in the third, and four in that part of the fourth, which elapsed before Mr. Cotton's ordination. Of these twenty-two there were eleven of each sex.

1633.

6 Aug.

## SECTION II.

From the settlement of Mr. Cotton, 1634, to his death, 1652.

SECT. II. **O**N 4 September, 1633, arrived from England, with Mr. Hooker, and many other emigrants of distinction, Rev. John Cotton. His celebrity, which was great in England, had already filled the American settlements, and prepared him a most welcome reception. His abilities were considered, as common property ; and it was the immediate concern of the wise and good, where he should fix his residence, and how obtain an honourable support.

1633.

4 Sept.

The scene of his and his wife's admission into the church was such, as displayed the precision and sanctity of his character, and interested the feelings of every beholder. Mrs. Cotton, on their passage, had brought him a son, whom he called Seaborn, but whom he did not baptize, until he was admitted into the church at Boston. He assigned two reasons for the omission. One was, there was no settled congregation on board the ship. Secondly, he said, a minister has no power to administer the seals of the covenant, except in his own congregation. " He desired, his

wife might also be admitted a member, and gave a modest testimony of her ; but withal requested, she might not be put to make open confession, which, he said, was against the apostle's rule, and not fit for women's modesty ; but that the elders might examine her in private. So she was asked, if she did consent in the confession of faith made by her husband, and if she did desire to be admitted ; whereto she answered affirmatively, and so both were admitted, and their child baptized, the father presenting it ; the child's baptism being, as he did then affirm in another case, the father's instruction for the help of his faith."\*

It was first proposed, that Mr. Cotton should be maintained from the treasury, in consideration of the political as well, as ecclesiastical benefits, which were expected from his ministry ; but the maturer judgment of a majority of the council quashed the proposal. He might have selected any situation in the country ; and he was in fact urged to accept several invitations, other than what he received in Boston. But he was somewhat compelled by the advice of the governour and council as well, as the unanimous voice of the First Church, here to bestow his principal labours. Accordingly a fast was observed, on 17 October, when " he was solemnly ordained teacher of that church, by the imposition of the hands of the presbytery, as was Mr. Leverett, an ancient professor of religion of Mr. Cotton's con-

\* Winthrop.



SECT. II. 1633. gregation in England, ordained ruling elder of the same church, the congregation testifying their consent by lifting up their hands. Mr. Wilson, pastor of the same church, demanded of him, if he accepted of that call. He paused, and then spake to this effect, that however he knew himself unworthy and insufficient for that place, yet having observed the passages of God's providence, which he reckoned up in part, in calling him to it, he could not but accept of it. Then the pastor and the two ruling elders laying their hands upon his head, the pastor prayed, and speaking to him by his name, did thereby design him to said office in the name of the holy ghost, and did give him the charge of the congregation, and did thereby, as a sign from God, endue him, at least prayed, that he might be endued, with gifts fit for his office, and largely did bless him. Then the neighbour ministers, that were present, did, at the pastor's motion, give him the right hand of fellowship, and the pastor did make a stipulation between him and the congregation."

In answering the invitation of the church, Mr. Cotton recommended to their care a few friends, who belonged to his society in England, and who had followed him to this country. They were of course provided for.

The ministers in the neighbourhood, having become sufficiently numerous, formed an association, and met, once a fortnight, in rotation, at one another's houses. At each meeting some subject of moment was debated. Mr. Skelton and Mr.

Williams, of Salem, were offended at the rise of this institution, and predicted, that it would originate a presbytery, or superintendency, that would end in the ruin of the church's liberties. Mr. Hubbard, in his ms. indulges a bitterness of invective against these gentlemen, which the expression of their fears can hardly justify. The event however has proved, that their suspicions were groundless. What they condemned was the origin of the Boston Association of congregational ministers, who continue, every second monday, in the afternoon, to hold a meeting for prayer, theological discussion, and social intercourse. Yet perhaps there is not a place in the world, where the independence of individual churches is more perfectly enjoyed, than in this metropolis, and its vicinity.

Immediately upon his induction, Mr. Cotton entered upon the duties of his office ; and so great was his influence both in ecclesiastical and civil affairs, that the measures, he recommended in his sermons, were forthwith adopted in the church ; and his private political counsels were with equal readiness enforced by the government. The congregation received continual accessions ; and more were here added to the number of communicants, than in all the other churches of the country. Many, who had been notoriously immoral, came and confessed their sins, and were received into the bosom of the church. Mr. Wilson was equally zealous and successful in maintaining the discipline of the church. The

SECT. II.  
1633.

SECT. II. elders, deacons, and several private brethren  
1634. were faithful coadjutors in the work of general edification ; so that no religious community ever appeared in a more prosperous condition.

There was no subject, which Mr. Cotton did not discuss ; and whatever doctrine or sentiment he delivered, he maintained by the word of God. He showed from the scriptures, that the ministry ought to be maintained from a publick chest, which was to be supplied by a weekly contribution. Mr. Cotton had expended towards his own settlement 80*l.* a reimbursement of which he refused. 60*l.* were contributed for the finishing of his house, and 100*l.* for his and Mr. Wilson's support.

The earliest notice of the 5th day or thursday lecture is given in Winthrop's journal for this year, when it seems to have been already established.

There was now some contention in the church of Charlestown ; and, among other sources of strife between Mr. James the pastor and Mr. Nowell the elder, it was questioned by the latter, whether they were in fact separated from the First Church.

The rules and discipline of the church were so rigidly observed, that a person coming from a neighbouring church, in which he was here well known to enjoy a fair character and a regular standing, could not be received, without renewing the profession of his faith in the language of his confessors.

Mr. Cotton taught, that a magistrate ought not to be deprived of his official character without just cause, and that for no cause should he be arraigned, as a publick convict.

SECT. II.

1634.

Mr. Wilson, this year, it seems, made another visit to his native country.

On every occasion, where a matter was disputed, Mr. Cotton settled the difference by his publick preaching. Mr. Hooker and his friends were about to remove to the Connecticut. Their design was strenuously seconded by some and opposed by others. After the matter had been for some time debated, Mr. Cotton ended the affair by preaching from Hag. ii. 4. showing the strength of the magistracy, ministry, and people. In their authority consisted the strength of the first, in their purity that of the second, and in their liberty that of the last. Each estate, he said, had a negative voice, and yet the ultimate power should reside in the whole body of the people.

The thursday lecture was now suspended, 4 October. every other week, to give place to another lecture at Cambridge, on the alternate thursday.

Mr. Eliot blamed the magistrates for overreaching the Pequods in a peace made with them. Mr. Cotton was appointed to deal with him, and desire him to make a publick recantation ; which he did.

The thursday lecture reverted to its ancient order. It was customary for the inhabitants occasionally to transact business relative to the po- 11 Dec.



SECT. II. lice of the town, immediately after lecture. On

1634.

11 December, this year, they chose seven new selectmen, to the exclusion of very worthy gentlemen, who had served them in preceding years. But Mr. Cotton interposed and showed from scripture, that it was an order of heaven to have all such business committed to the elders. Such was the weight of his authority, that he caused, on the succeeding thursday, a new election.

1635.

13 Jan.

The church, this day, kept a fast on account of the pastor's absence in England, and the probability there was, that he and his companions would be detained and troubled.

19 Jan.

There was, on 19 January, a general meeting of the ministers, by the request of the governour and assistants, to deliberate on these two questions. First. What ought to be done, if a general governour should be sent out of England? Second. Is it lawful to carry the cross in our banners? In the first case they were agreed, that they ought not to accept him; but to defend their possession in the best manner they were able. On the second they divided, and came to no decision.

15 March.

About this time, a disturbance happened at Lynn. The pastor had been somewhat arbitrary; and some of the members, from a spirit of resentment, questioned, if they were a true church, and commenced a separation. The pastor and his adherents requested the advice of sister churches. Meanwhile, the pastor desired the



authors of the schism to commit their grievances to writing. They refused. He therefore was for excommunicating them ; and wrote to the churches to desist from their intended visit. The letter was read immediately after thursday lecture, when it seemed to be the general opinion, that the churches ought to hear both sides of the dispute. Accordingly they went upon the ground ; heard the parties ; acknowledged them a true church ; and reconciled the members.

SECT. II.

1635.

Rev. Mr. Wilson arrived here from England in company with Mr. Shepard, Mr. Jones, and others. It was probably now, that his wife accompanied him. The voyage, which Mr. W. now finished, was remarkable. He more than once narrowly escaped shipwreck. On his return from England, he was forced by foul weather upon the coast of Ireland, and, after many dangers, he visited the country. He met many persons interested in the settlement of Newengland. From Ireland he passed into Scotland, and into the north of England, and, through his whole tour, he met with persons of quality, who were concerned for the prosperity of Newengland, and who esteemed his visit among them a smile of Providence.

6 Sept.

1 Nov.

In December, 1635, Mr. Norton arrived at Plymouth.

The ministers occasionally interposed, in case of differences among magistrates ; yet rarely or never, unless expressly requested by the governor and assistants.

## SECT II

1636

Jan.

In the month of January, 1636, the church at Cambridge was gathered by Mr. Shepard with great solemnity. It was there questioned, how many persons might constitute a church. The number three was thought too small; but it was determined, that seven might lawfully constitute a church. Mr. Cotton was present, and gave the right hand of fellowship to the newly organized church.

15 Feb.

The churches of Lynn and Salem were much divided. Corn was scarce; and removals frequent. A general fast was proclaimed. This church in particular observed it with great devotion.

April

The principal part of the old church at Dorchester having removed, Mr. Mather and others began a new one. Several persons attempting to join them were rejected for the present, on the idea, that they hated sin, not so much because it was in itself odious to God, as because it was hurtful to themselves.

It having been made manifest from the scriptures, that a certain number of magistrates should hold their offices during life, Mr. Winthrop and Mr. Dudley were accordingly chosen upon that principle.

The peculiarities of Mr. Williams were still a source of inquietude among the churches. The colonists were frequently returning, for the purpose of commerce or friendship, to the parent country. When there, it was natural for them to worship at the churches of their friends. Yet

such was the abhorrence, which Mr. W. entertained for episcopal worship, and such was the rigour of his discipline, that he would suffer none of his congregation to give a moment's countenance to the cause of conformity ; and on such, as had offended, he was sure to impose some sort of penalty. It was agitated in the First Church, whether, out of tenderness to the consciences of their brethren, persons going hence to England should refrain from joining in episcopal worship. It was said, that hearing was not holding communion, and therefore determined in the negative. The next plan was to make them a church by themselves. This was opposed, both because they were too few to make a church, and because the forming of new churches, on such grounds, could not be justified by the word of God. It was, lastly, asked, if they should be excommunicated. This measure was unpleasant, and not to be resorted to, unless they should withdraw themselves, and behave disorderly. A continuance with the church was to procure a degree of toleration in matters of opinion. This is the first ray of liberality, that has shed itself upon the ecclesiastical institutions of our country.

Mr. Peters preached at First Church, and solicited of the congregation, among other things, these two ; first, that they would relinquish the labours of Mr. Cotton, whilst he should go through the scriptures, and raise marginal notes on the difficult passages. The second was, that a

SECT. II. plan of church government might be drawn up  
1636. according to scripture.

Until this time, the First Church had enjoyed a series of unequalled prosperity. But, towards the close of the year 1636, the congregation was distracted by one of the most extraordinary theological controversies, that ever was agitated. A married woman, by the name of Anne Hutchinson, had long been infected with antinomian principles. The opinions, which she first privately and afterwards openly avowed, were such, as these, viz. That the person of the Holy Ghost dwells in a justified person. That no degrees of sanctification furnished any evidence of justification ; and that consequently all the genuine sanctification in a true believer consisted in a personal union with the Holy Ghost. So strenuously did she hold and propagate these and similar notions, that she bitterly opposed those of the clergy and laity, who were for cooling the ebullitions of her enthusiastick zeal. She said, that none of the ministers, Mr. Cotton excepted, preached the covenant of grace ; that they preached the covenant of works ; they could not preach the covenant of grace, because they had not the seal of the spirit ; and that they knew no more of the grace of Christ, than the apostles knew before their master's resurrection.

Mr. Wheelwright, a brother in law of Mrs. Hutchinson, and formerly an episcopal clergyman in England, openly favoured the doctrine of his sister. Others in the church espoused her



cause; nor was Mr. Cotton himself free from suspicion, if he was from blame.

SECT. II.

1636.

These opinions were soon noised among the neighbouring churches, and arrested the particular attention of all the ministers. Whilst the general court was sitting, they took an opportunity of visiting Boston, for the express purpose of inquiring into the controversy, and consulting with individuals of the legislature, what was to be done. For so intimately connected, in that day, were the civil and sacred concerns of the state, that, if the church was in danger, the magistrates interfered, or, if the state was threatened, the ministers of religion durst not be silent.

Mr. Cotton and Wheelwright joined the conference, and, by explaining their notions of sanctification, gave tolerable satisfaction.

Mr. Wheelwright being the friend and supporter of Mrs. H. her partisans in the church were desirous of having him associated with Messrs. Wilson and Cotton. The proposition was opposed. It was said, that the church was already furnished with able ministers, who were known to the brethren, and whose labours had been wonderfully blessed, and that it was wrong to hazard the peace of the congregation, by introducing a stranger, whose sentiments and conduct had already begun to kindle the flames of contention. Governour Vane questioned the ground of opposition, since Mr. Cotton had approved the doctrine of the candidate. Mr. Cotton replied, that he acknowledged a similarity of opinion, on some



SECT. II. of the points in dispute with Mr. W. but since  
1636. he was apt to raise questions of doubtful utility,  
he thought it safest not to have the church proceed  
in his election. Mr. W. was accordingly per-  
mitted to take charge of the church at Mount  
Wollaston.

The feelings of the brethren had become highly irritable. The opposition to Mr. Wheelwright had awakened a spirit of animosity. Points of doctrine, which had been calmly discussed in the pulpit heretofore, could not now be touched, without wounding the feelings of some of the brethren. The affair was warmly, though with christian forbearance, contested between Mr. Cotton and governour Winthrop. The latter appeared to great advantage. He seemed equally cautious of imbibing erroneous doctrine himself, and of rashly censuring the errors of others. He dealt with his teacher faithfully, yet affectionately; and concluded the interview by requesting Mr. C. not to talk of the personality of the Holy Ghost, and terms of that nature, which were never used in the purest churches, during the three first centuries, but to confine himself to matters, which were better suited to promote the edification of individuals and the peace of the brotherhood.

Sir Henry Vane, the governour, who had arrived this year from England, and who had a high reputation for seriousness, was rather favourably inclined to the Hutchinsonian superstition. He asserted the indwelling of the Holy Ghost in every believer, and such a personal union, as trinitari-

ans suppose between the Logos and the man Christ Jesus. But Mr. Wilson, the pastor, Mr. Winthrop, and all the more rational part of the congregation desired, that, as the person of the Holy Ghost could not be found in scripture, but was a term of human invention, it might be dis-  
used.

Though the dispute ought to have been confined to the church, yet the court, from motives of curiosity, love of power, and religious zeal, insisted upon entering into its merits. Mr. Vane was even jealous of the right, which the churches and ministers thought, they possessed, of terminating the controversy independently of the magistrates. But Mr. Peters, a minister of Salem, sharply rebuked the governour and plainly insinuated, that, if governours would concern themselves only with the things of Cæsar, the things of God would be more quiet and prosperous.

The zeal of Mr. Wilson, on this occasion, manifested itself in a lamentation over the dark and distracted condition of the churches, and imputed to the newly broached opinions the divisions, they lamented. Mr. W's speech originated questions on the doctrine of sanctification. Mr. Cotton had, that day, taught, that evident sanctification was evidence of justification; that, in cases of especial desertion, desires of sanctification were actual sanctification, and that the lowest degree of gracious sincerity afforded matter of comfort. Mr. Cotton and the governour however main-

SECT. II. tained, that nothing could compensate the want of  
1636. a concurrent sight of justification.

Mr. Cotton and others were offended at Mr. Wilson's speech ; and they accordingly went to admonish him. But the pastor and his friends were unable to perceive, that any rule had been violated. On the same terms with the rest of the elders, he had been called to the court, where it was desired and expected, that every one would express his mind with the utmost freedom, both for discovering existing danger, and for remedying the evil. Mr. Wilson explained ; but explanation was unavailing. It was insisted on by his accusers, that he should answer publickly for his indiscretion ; and the governour was forward among those, who with bitterness and reproaches were arraigning the conduct of this benevolent man. Governour Winthrop remarks, " It was strange to see, how the common people were led by example to condemn him in that, which, it was very probable, divers of them did not understand, nor the rule, which he was supposed to have broken, and that such, as had known him so long, and what good he had done for that church, should fall upon him with such bitterness, for justifying himself in a good cause. For he was a very holy upright man ; and for faith and love inferiour to none in the country, and most dear to all men." The teacher also betrayed the weakness of human nature, and too easily joined in the censure of his mild associate. But the meekness and moderation of the pastor triumph-

ed over the misguided zeal of the teacher and the flock. He answered them in the language of gentleness, and by the wisdom of his behaviour calmed the murmurs of opposition. It was also fortunate for Mr. W. that the first time he preached, he was exceedingly happy in his subject, and in his manner of treating it ; insomuch that the governour professed himself satisfied, and laboured in Mr. W's behalf for the satisfaction of others.

This was not the end of the church's contention. One heretical opinion paved the way for another, and schism succeeded schism. It was maintained, that the Holy Ghost dwells in a believer as much, as he dwells in heaven ; that a man is justified, before he believes ; that faith is no cause of justification ; that the letter of the scripture holds forth nothing, but a covenant of works ; that the covenant of grace, which can be known only to believers, is the vital principle of the scriptures ; that a man may attain to high eminence in sanctification, gifts, and graces, even so as to have special communion with Christ, and after all be damned. In short, with the persons holding these notions nothing would answer, but an immediate revelation, assuring of divine acceptance.

Extravagant as the assertion may seem, these extravagant notions were received by the members almost universally. The pastor and three or four others made the only exception.

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That Mr. Cotton should give his voice in favour of such heretical opinions, it may be rationally supposed, was matter of offence to his clerical brethren. Determined to make him explicit, they stated sixteen articles, on which they entreated unequivocal answers. He complied. On some of the points he was satisfactory ; on others not. His answers induced several replies ; and so much engaged were the ministers in opposition to the prevalent enthusiasm, that they persuaded the general court, at its next session, to have an universal suspension of the lectures for three weeks.

1637.

The year 1637 opened with gloomy prospects. Though oppressed with difficulties at home, the congregation was not insensible to the sorrows of their brethren in foreign climes. The churches in Germany were in a miserable condition. In England lordly bishops were deposing numbers of Christ's faithful followers, making havock among the puritans, and every where introducing the fopperies of papists. The plague was raging on the continent of Europe, where thousands were threatened both with the sword and famine. The depredations of the Indians were frequent in the Connecticut settlement, and anew menaced the peace of their own territory. These troubles, added to their ecclesiastical dissensions, moved the appointment of a general fast.

But the observance of no rites whatever was able to abolish the existing differences on points of faith. Mr. Cotton, alone of all the clergy,



was on the side of the fanaticks ; and the very circumstance of his dissenting from his brethren was sufficient to give the dispute a wider notoriety and a keener edge. Though the teacher was not to be shaken from his creed, nor betrayed into rashness, he was far from being easy under the weight of so respectable an opposition ; and, though superiour to the adoption of unworthy means to promote the views of a party, he was yet willing to seize a favourable occurrence for strengthening the cause, which he thought to be just. A ship full of passengers was now ready to sail for England. It was natural to embrace such an occasion for renewing ancient recollections, and disburdening the heart of its cares. “ Tell our transatlantick friends,” said Mr. Cotton, “ that all our strife is about magnifying the grace of God. Some seek to advance the grace of God towards us, and some the grace of God within us. The lovers therefore of the doctrines of grace will here be sure of a cordial reception.” Though this message to the unilluminated savoured of nothing, but the honey of the bee ; yet there were others, who felt a sting in the words. Mr. Wilson replied. He said, “ I know none among either the elders or brethren of these churches, who do not labour to magnify the grace of God in the justification of believers, as that doctrine is contained in the holy scriptures ; nor are there any, to my knowledge, who deny the importance and necessity of sanctification.” The matter of dispute was trivial, and most of the

SECT. II. bystanders were equally well satisfied with both  
1637. of the divines ; but the effect was unpleasant. Such a theological rencounter under such circumstances indicated, that a wound had been given to the peace of the church, which was not easily healed, and which would frequently bleed before the eyes of the whole community. Because the ministers contended, the people could not agree. One party ranged itself on the side of justification ; the other on that of sanctification ; and the distinction between the advocates for free grace and the adherents to works was as broad, as what separates protestants and papists.

The general court, which commenced its session in March, upheld its interest in the controversy. It had a party in favour of Mr. Cotton and the majority of the church ; but the majority was on the side of Mr. Wilson and his friends. Of course the correctness of the proceeding against Mr. Wilson was questioned, and his speech in the last court, and the whole tenour of his conduct were adjudged not only faultless, but reasonable.

It was in this session voted, that the ministers should be requested to give their advice concerning the authority of the court in ecclesiastical affairs. The ministers complied with the request, and agreed in two things. First, That no legislator, without leave of the court, should publicly be questioned by a church concerning any speech, which he may have made, whilst acting in his legislative capacity. Secondly, That all such

heresies and errors of any church member, as are manifestly dangerous to the state, the court may proceed to condemn, without staying for the determination of the church ; but opinions, turning merely on texts of doubtful interpretation, or on questions, about which wise and pious men have innocently differed, shall first be submitted to the deliberation of the church.

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Mr. Wheelwright was to be questioned at this court concerning a sermon, he had preached, which was said to be seditious. His friends, who made the majority of the church, petitioned the court, first, that, as freemen, they might be present in cases of judicature ; and, secondly, that they would define and publish their power in casuistical and ecclesiastical cases. This petition was ungraciously received, and immediately rejected. The court said, that they were in the habit of determining causes in publick ; but they should insist on the right of private deliberation, whenever they thought proper.

The cause was at length agitated. It appeared, that against all, who walked in a covenant of works, maintaining, that sanctification was an evidence of justification; Mr. Wheelwright in his sermon had bitterly inveighed. Such persons he denounced as antichristians, and excited against them a vehement opposition. He was summoned before the court. His sermon was produced, which he justified without the least palliation, confessing, that he still meant all, which he seemed to express. The elders of the other

SECT II churches, on being questioned, unanimously acknowledged, that they felt themselves pointed at and maligned in the aforesaid discourse. After some debate, he was adjudged guilty of sedition and contempt of the court. His conduct was thought to be marked by peculiar aggravations of guilt. A fast had been appointed, as the means of healing breaches in the peace of the church, which his sermon seemed designed and calculated to widen. From this judgment the governour and a few others dissented, and entered their protest; which however was not admitted, because it exculpated Mr. Wilson, and in this instance disapproved the doings of the court. First Church also offered a petition in behalf of Mr. Wheelwright, which justified his sermon. The court deferred sentence, until the next session, and took advice of the ministers concerning the propriety of enforcing his sentence. They were diffident in their opinions on the subject, and recommended him to the care of First Church. This was done, and his appearance enjoined at the next court.

These differences gave motion to the pens as well, as spirit of controversy. Among other tracts, the magistrates issued an apology, justifying the sentence of the court against Mr. Wheelwright. Against this sentence the majority of the church had said many hard things. They had also remonstrated in a loud and angry tone, and been guilty of unfairness. In abbreviating Mr. Wheelwright's sermon, they actually altered



both the words and meaning of offensive passages. Mr. W. himself too published a treatise, relative to the dispute, which also spoke a different language from that of the sermon. The sermon was answered, and its doctrine refuted, by the clergy. This answer drew another from Mr. Cotton, who narrowed the ground of controversy ; and in the election sermon, preached, the next day by Mr. Shepard, the differences were so concisely stated, that the affair was brought almost to a close. Indeed so much had been written and said on the subject, so much had been controverted, and so much conceded, that polemick divines of the first perspicacity could alone determine with accuracy, where the point of contention was ; and, if the passions of the community had not been highly excited, the dispute would have seen an earlier termination. The religious combatants were at length agreed in the following particulars. First, that justification and sanctification were together in time. Secondly, that a man must know himself justified, before he can know himself sanctified. Thirdly, that the spirit of God never witnesses to the reality of justification, without a previous conviction of a wonderful work wrought upon the soul. The difference between the controversialists came finally to this. One party affirmed, that the first assurance of a justified state originated in an absolute promise, and not in a conditional one also. The other maintained, that christian assurance arose from a promise partly absolute and partly

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SECT. II. conditional. The former held, that no man  
1637. could have any true assurance, without such a sense of a good work having been wrought upon his soul, as no hypocrite could attain. The latter contended, that the only sure evidence of continuing in a justified state was a continuance in a state of holiness.

Mr. Wheelwright, as commanded, appeared at court. Because however a day of general humiliation was appointed, on which all the churches were to choose referees, for settling the differences, a respite was granted him by the court, until its next session. If, at that period, he should retract his error, he was given to understand, that he would probably experience a lenity, which otherwise might not be expected. He answered, If I have been guilty of sedition, let me die. Recantation is out of the question. If you proceed thus unrighteously against me, I shall appeal to the tribunal of my king. The court told him, that they were satisfied of the rectitude of their course, and that, on a revision of his case, their decision would be exactly, what it had been; but if to the meditated conference among the ministers the Lord should afford new light, they would cheerfully use it in ordaining a new sentence.

The design of the magistrates in thus deferring the execution of the sentence was to give ample testimony of their uprightness. The friends of Wheelwright had been so censorious and insolent in their speeches in court, and so outrageous in their conduct abroad, as to injure their cause.

The moderate party was daily waxing stronger both in numbers and influence, and were now able to crush the fanatick and his adherents. But they were willing to make the equity of their measures palpable to the world, by cultivating a temper of moderation, and still extending the conciliatory hand.

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A proof of the pious dispositions of the patriarchs of Newengland is found in many of their institutions, and particularly in their observance of fasts and thanksgivings. On experiencing any publick calamity, a day of humiliation was immediately ordained, and a day of thanksgiving, when Providence had blessed them with remarkable favours. A victory had recently been gained over the Pequod Indians, and, on that account, the 15 June, 1637, was appropriated by all the churches to the exercise of publick thanksgiving.

15 June.

The friends of order, now making a large majority, were resolved, that their opposers should feel their power ; and frequent opportunities occurred, in which love of truth and the publick quiet were put in opposite scales. Through the influence of the dominant party, a man, named Greensmith, was censured by the general court for saying, that all the ministers, excepting two, were principled in a covenant of works. This had been said and punished before. The man appealed to the king ; but he was nevertheless committed.

The wound nowever, which fanaticism had received, was by no means mortal. It was con-

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stantly receiving balm and consolation from the parent country. A brother of Mrs. Hutchinson and other friends of Mr. Wheelwright, recently arrived, immediately rallied round the antinomian standard ; and though the administration would allow them neither trust nor countenance, yet they had a large portion of zeal, and of course could not but have a portion of influence. They were continually preaching the peculiarities of their sect, which imbibtered, poisoned, and inflamed the popular mind. Such were the effects of their doctrines upon the timid and credulous, that some became intoxicated with the joys of assurance, some deranged, and others were driven to despair. One woman, in particular, of the congregation, having been long worried with terrors concerning her spiritual state, grew at length so furious, that she threw her child into the well, saying, “ now my damnation is inevitable.”

This unhappy state of religious affairs was viewed with concern by serious and enlightened christians, who carefully seized upon every favourable opportunity for soothing the passions of the populace, and giving a right direction to their zeal. Rev. John Davenport, who, in the course of the past month, had come hither, like many of his profession, for the enjoyment of religious liberty, was laudably instrumental in furthering the work of peace. He preached the thursday lecture from Cor. i. and in his sermon held a strong light over the nature and dangers of those divisions, which had sprung up in the church, and most

17 July.

tenderly pressed upon his hearers the duties of candour, forbearance, and brotherly love.

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Exhortations of this complexion were not without their effect. Private meetings of ministers and the brethren were had for the removal of misunderstandings. A day of humiliation was observed in all the churches with especial reference to their distracted condition, on 24 July, and on the 30th of the same month, a conference of ministers and elders was holden, in the hope of effectuating pacifick measures. Here Messrs. Wilson, Cotton, and Wheelwright were present. The speech, made by the first of these gentlemen before the court, which at first was so ill received, and which had been the subject of much subsequent altercation, was now reviewed in moments of greater tranquillity. The passions were asleep, and the explanations of Mr. Wilson were heard with candour. He declared to his reverend companion, that, at the time of making the speech alluded to, it was not his intention to condemn doctrines, which they had publicly delivered, but such opinions, as had been disseminated in private circles, and industriously propagated to the injury of serious preachers and upright christians. As to the rest of the speech, it was the unanimous opinion of the elders, that it was inoffensive and even justifiable under the circumstances, which called it forth. Mr. Cotton had no objection to offer against the general sentiment; but gave a conciliatory exposition of the affair on the following sunday. This sudden and favour-



SECT. II. able change in the aspect of the controversy was  
 1637. very observable, especially by those, who knew, that Mr. Wilson had formerly made, in substance, the very same declaration. The fact was, that, in the heat of contention, words and arguments had been used with gentlemen to no effect, because not weighed with care, nor even heard with patience.

30 Aug.

On 30 August, began at Cambridge the famous synod, called the assembly, at which all the pastors, teachers, and elders in the country were present, as well those, who had lately arrived from England, as those, who were immediately connected with particular churches. Of course Mr. Davenport was a member of the body. Mr. Shepard, minister of the church in Cambridge, introduced the labours of the assembly by prayer. The first day was consumed in preparation and arrangement. Erroneous opinions were first laid before the synod, next improper expressions, and lastly abuses of the scriptures. On the second day, Rev. Peter Bulkley of Concord, and Rev. Thos. Hooker were chosen moderators; and they continued in office, until the close of the sitting. Eighty opinions were condemned, some as blasphemous, others as erroneous, and all, as unsafe. Almost all the members subscribed the condemnation. A few, though in sentiment with the majority, thought it discreet to withhold their names.

Several members of First Church, together with others, disliked the idea of so many opinions being condemned. They said, the votes of the



synod brought a reproach upon the country. They disbelieved the statement, on which the sense of the assembly had been taken, and called for the names of persons, to whom these errors were imputed. They were answered, that it could be abundantly proved, that all the errors, which had been named, had authors and abettors in town or in country ; but that prudence dictated the concealment of names. The minority however were too much warmed with the subject to suffer any thing to be secreted. They were vociferous for names and witnesses. In vain did the moderators call to order, and in vain remind them, that, in case of disturbance, the magistrate must interpose. It was answered, that the magistrate had no province in such an assembly. One of the moderators retorted, that, if immediate silence did not ensue, an opportunity would be given for testing the correctness of the two opinions. There was so much severity in this sort of language, that some of the Boston members retired, and came no more to the assembly.

Five points remained in question between Mr. Cotton and Mr. Wheelwright on the one part, and the rest of the elders on the other. The articles, about which the parties were at issue, were embodied, and the mode and meaning of the expressions used were agreed upon by all, excepting Mr. Wheelwright.

The first related to our union with Christ. The question was, if the union take place before

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the operation of faith. It was agreed, that there is a difference between habitual and actual faith, and that there is no marriage union with Christ, until faith becomes actual or operative.

The second related to the evidence of justification. It was agreed, that saving sanctification was coexistent, concurrent, and coapparent with the witness of the Spirit.

It was agreed, that the new creature is not the person of a believer, but a body of saving graces within him ; and that Christ, as a head, quickens, preserves, and actuates, but is himself no part of, the same.

The fourth respected effectual calling. It was agreed, that the soul is enlivened by an operative faith, wrought at the time by the Spirit, and that justification and sanctification are coeval ; yet that God does not justify a man, before he is effectually called, or, in other words, before he is a believer.

It was agreed, that Christ and his benefits may be offered to a man under, but not in, or by, a covenant of works.

When these questions were first agitated, each party delivered its arguments in writing, which were read in the assembly, and afterwards their answers. This mode of doing business consumed much time to no good purpose. But as soon, as they began to state and define their questions, the points in dispute were rendered intelligible, and speedily settled.

Having determined questions of right, those of expediency came next to be considered. Accordingly the last day of its sitting, the synod deliberated and resolved on the following questions.

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1. That though a few women may meet together for the purposes of prayer and mutual advice, yet such an assemblage of females, consisting of sixty or more, as is now every week formed, in which one of them, in the character of principal and prophetess, undertakes to expound the scriptures, resolve casuistical cases, and establish doctrines, is determined to be irregular and disorderly.

2. Though a private member may ask a question publicly after sermon for information, yet this ought to be very wisely and sparingly done, and never without leave obtained of the elders ; but questions on matters of speculation, such as are now agitated in many places, in which doctrines are frequently opposed, and those delivering them bitterly reproached, is on no account justifiable.

3. A person, refusing to come to attend publick worship to receive church censure, may be proceeded against, though absent ; yet it is advisable, if convenient, that the magistrate should compel him to be present.

4. A member, differing from the rest of the church in any opinion not fundamental, ought not to absent himself from the celebration of ordinances ; and, if a member, thus circumstanced, shall desire a dismissal to another church, holding

SECT. II. opinions agreeable to his own, the church, to  
1637. which he belongs, ought not to grant his request.

The assembly dissolved itself ; and the governour proposed, that, since the Lord had been graciously present with its members, and its affairs had been so regularly conducted and amicably concluded, a like meeting should be had once a year, or at least the next year, to settle what of controversy still remained doubtful, and nourish dispositions of charity. The motion, as it displayed the goodness of the governour's heart, was universally pleasing ; but it was not thought prudent to adopt the measure.

The governour also moved, that, as there was a difference in different churches in the manner of supporting their ministers, it should be agreed, what mode of maintaining them is most evangelical ; but the ministers feared to decide upon this question, lest it should be said, that the assembly was gathered for their own advantage.

Mr. Davenport, as he had been previously requested by the assembly, preached from Phil. iii. 16. In his sermon he enumerated the principal causes of dissensions among christians, and stated the beneficial effects of the synod. With sound argument and much eloquence he persuaded to unity his christian brethren, who now separated under auspicious appearances. The members of the assembly were boarded, and those belonging to Connecticut were brought and returned, at the publick charge.



However satisfactory might have been the result of the synod to the churches in general, some of the members of First Church were so dissatisfied with it, that, because the success of the synod was mentioned, as one of the causes of gratitude to God, in the autumnal thanksgiving, they absented themselves from the religious exercise. This disrespect to the doings of the assembly was contagious. The hopes of peace, fondly indulged for a time, were found to be illusive. Though Mr. Wheelwright and his party had been confuted in the assembly, yet they persisted in their opinions, and were as busy as ever in nourishing the spirit of ecclesiastical contention.

On 2 November, the general court assembled at Cambridge. They found, that two so opposite parties could not continue in the same body, without putting to hazard the peace, if not the existence of the whole. Former disputes were renewed with all their former virulence ; and the fires of party, which had been seemingly quenched, were found only to have been smothered. Mr. Wheelwright, by persisting in his own justification, rendered abortive all previous exertions for establishing a reconciliation. He was accordingly banished the government. He appealed to the king ; but he was told and convinced, that an appeal of this sort was nugatory. He of course relinquished it ; and the court permitted him to go to his own house, upon promising, that he would leave the jurisdiction, within



SECT. II. fourteen days. The breach of this promise was  
1637. to be followed by a surrender of his person to the  
magistrate.

It was thought best to pursue a course of energetick policy towards bringing the controversy to a close ; and to follow up the severity towards Mr. W. by a similar treatment of his sister. Mrs. Hutchinson was accordingly sent for by the court. She was formally accused of the errors in sentiment and practice, which have already been described,\* and the charges were sustained by a host of witnesses. This trial was very extraordinary. Perhaps the ecclesiastical annals of no country can furnish a similar instance.

On her entering the court, she was addressed by governour Winthrop in a strain of uncommon solemnity. “ Mrs. Hutchinson,” says he, “ you are called here, as one of those, who have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and of the churches. You are known to be a woman, who have had a great share in divulging and promoting those opinions, which cause our present troubles, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and affection with some, whom the court have noticed and censured, but you have spoken divers things injurious to the honour of these churches and their ministers. You have also maintained a meeting in your house, which has been condemned by the general court, as a thing not comely in the sight of God, nor suitable to your sex ; and, notwithstanding it was condemn-

\* P. 28.

ed in the opinion of all sober and judicious persons, you have continued the same. We have therefore thought it good to send for you, to understand how things are, that, if you are in an erroneous way, we may reduce you, that so you may become an exemplary and profitable christian among us. Otherwise, if you shall be obstinate in your errors, the court will take such a course, as to prevent your giving us further trouble. I therefore entreat you to say explicitly, whether you hold and assent to those opinions and factions, which have already been handled in court.”

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Whilst the governour was making this speech, and during some time of her first appearance before the court, she was modest and reserved ; but her judges entreated her to be open, and insisted upon an honest confession of her secret sentiments, respecting the merit and manner of preaching common among the ministers. She still seemed unwilling fully to reveal her mind. They began to question her, and she to answer them. As much as two days was she before the governour and assistants, perplexed and irritated by their queries. Sometimes indeed she answered with too much pertness and pride ; but, for the most part, she referred her accusers and judges to the scriptures, whose authority they all acknowledged, and whose words, it must be confessed, as urged by the woman, often caused them some little confusion. Mr. Cotton was implicated in the examination, and by the mildness of his manner, and his nice discriminations con

SECT. II. tributed to increase the embarrassment of the  
1637. court. At length it was voted to banish Mrs. H. from the jurisdiction, as a woman unfit for their society, and to imprison her, until the execution of the sentence.

In reflecting upon the course of behaviour pursued in regard to this affair, we can hardly help dropping a tear of compassion over the intolerance of the age, and the hardship attending the case of this female fanatic. It is true, there was plenary evidence, that she possessed an unquiet, bold, and turbulent spirit, and was full of enthusiasm ; yet it is easy to see, that the whole controversy originated in too strict an adherence to the words of the scriptures, without regarding their connexion and spirit, and in a strong attachment to an unbending discipline.

The error was not invisible to several members of First Church. Though they too much favoured the extravagant fancies of Mrs. H. yet it was not solely on that account, that they espoused her cause. They thought, that a spirit of unjustifiable persecution had been indulged, and they were determined to resent it. Their ill-will accordingly manifested itself against the governor. They were desirous, that the ministers should call him before them to answer for the part, he had acted in the affair. Advertised of their wishes, he exculpated himself to the congregation. He told them, that if he were arraigned, he should advise with the elders concerning the power of the church to interfere in civil concerns. He

then showed, that he was in the exercise of his functions, as a civil magistrate ; that in that capacity there was no power paramount to his ; and that though, as a member of the church of Christ, he was, like other members, subject to its rules, yet, as a ruler in one of the kingdoms of this world, he ought to command the obedience of christians. “ What I have done,” says he, “ in this affair, I have done for the maintenance of peace. I can justify by instances in sacred history every part of my conduct. If priests have sometimes laid restraint upon kings, these in turn have undertaken the control of priests. If a magistrate should be guilty of taking private property by theft, he would be amenable to the church ; but if, in discharging the duties of his office, he should banish from the state a disorderly subject, whether or not belonging to the church, I should consider him, as acting without the control of any ecclesiastick authority. I am also able to justify my conduct in this affair by the opinion of several of the clergy and other christian brethren, whose advice I have taken and very carefully followed. In short, I have acted in the whole of this business conformably to my oath, which obliges me to do whatever I think for the glory of God and the common good. It has long been manifest to my friends as well, as to myself, that these opposite parties would not live together in peace, and that the only method of restoring tranquillity to the state was the banishing of the greatest offenders.”

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SECT. II. In the month of March, 1638, Mrs. Hutchin-  
 1638. son took up her residence in Roxbury. Here

March. by the wellmeaning peacemaker and the queru-  
 lous disputant. Some went to her house to dis-  
 cover the extent and depth of her errors, some  
 to cure, and others to multiply and aggravate  
 them. The bruit of her heresy was indeed renew-  
 ed with so much ardour, that the magistrates  
 found it necessary to summon her before them.

15 March. She came, and on 15 March, at a publick lec-  
 ture, appointed for the purpose, her errors were  
 enumerated and condemned. She herself was  
 solemnly admonished before the whole congrega-  
 tion. Mr. Cotton read the admonition, and une-  
 quivocally reprov'd the proud and contentious  
 spirit, which had appeared in a woman, who had  
 formerly been among the warmest of his admir-  
 ers. The general court was now sitting at  
 Cambridge ; but the governour and treasurer, be-  
 ing members of First Church, were permitted to  
 join the congregation in approving the punish-  
 ment.

On 22 March, Mrs. H. appeared again. In  
 the hope of her repentance, she had been libera-  
 ted by the court. She had resided, a little while,  
 at the house of Mr. Cotton, that he and Mr. Dav-  
 enport might have opportunity of fully detecting  
 her errors, exposing them to her conscience, and  
 inducing a penitent temper. Their exhortations  
 were not wholly without effect. She retracted in  
 writing most of what were called her *familistical*



opinions ; yet with such modifications and restrictions, as rendered her acknowledgment of no value in the estimation of the church. They required an oral explanation, which should express more clearly a renunciation of her heresies. She then declared, that it was just in God to leave her to imbibe and disseminate these wrong opinions, for slighting his sacred ordinances and reviling the rulers of his people. This confession, which was made apparently under the influence of a christian temper, and which concluded with a request for the prayers of the church in her behalf, awakened an expectation, that she might return to something like a decorous behaviour. But this expectation was baseless, as the fabrick of a vision. The moment they came to particular definitions, she was as wild and impudent as ever ; and so palpable were her contradictions, that she astonished and alienated those, who had formerly been her advocates. The last gleam of hope having fled, that she would ever conduct herself, as a sober and peaceable member of the church, a motion was made for her excommunication. Feeling a tenderness for the woman, and somewhat of horror at the contemplated measure, some were for substituting another admonition ; but the vote passed, and Mr. Wilson pronounced the sentence. The transaction is recorded in the following words. “ Ann, the wife of our brother William Hutchinson, having, on the 15th of the third month, been openly in publique congregation, admonished of sundry errors held by her,

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was, on the same 22d day, cast out of the church for impenitently persisting in a manifest lye, then expressed by her in open congregation, the 15th of the same month, 1638.”

After excommunication, her spirits, which had been previously depressed, revived, and she gloried in her sufferings, thanking God, that she was counted worthy to be abused for the sake of Christ. But her own joy, on this event, could not have exceeded what was felt by the bulk of the people. They had so long been agitated by this vexatious affair, and such bickerings had it caused in families as well, as churches, that the prospect of its termination was universally pleasing.

Notwithstanding the order of court, Mrs. Hutchinson seemed inclined to linger among her friends. Accordingly, two or three days after her excommunication, the governour sent her a warrant, obliging her to leave the limits of the jurisdiction, before the close of the month, and to abide in her house, until her departure. On the 28th, she went by water to her farm at Mount Wollaston, whence she was to sail with Mr. Wheelwright’s family for Piscataqua. But she changed her mind, and journeyed by land to Providence, and thence proceeded to an island in the Narraganset bay, which her husband and others of her sect had purchased of the Indians, with the view of commencing a settlement by themselves.

Although Mrs. Hutchinson was gone, it was long, before the effects of the controversy respecting her ceased. Neighbouring congregations could not but be interested in it; and it had produced a strong sensation in the whole vicinity. Roxbury church, in particular, contained members, who subscribed the obnoxious petition. They were however admonished at first, and, because they would not submit to the censures of the church, were eventually excommunicated.

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1638.

March.

Although it should seem, that the magistrates and ministers, united as they were in governing the state and church, were terrible and irresistible in their sway, yet there were not wanting instances, in which their power was defied. Just before the expulsion of Mrs. H. and whilst the court was sitting, one John Green of Providence wrote a letter to the governour and assistants in an uncourtly style. This man had accused the court, and probably with reason, of acting in an arbitrary manner; of persecuting Mr. Williams and his friends; and of cruelly restraining them from divulging their opinions. This freedom of speech had procured him a fine. He had acknowledged his error, and his fine had been remitted. But now he criminated his former submission, and justified himself in his first act of repugnance to what he deemed an intolerant spirit. It was to no purpose to send to Rhodeisland for this offender; but the court ordered, that, if he and certain others, believed his confederates,

SECT. II. should be found in this jurisdiction, they should  
1638. either confess their fault, or obligate themselves, on pain of imprisonment, to be seen no more hereafter within the limits of the state.

At this court also several military officers of distinction, who had espoused the fanaticism of Mrs. Hutchinson, were sent for and examined. They acknowledged, that they had been misled by the pretence of exalting Christ and debasing the creature. Experience had taught them, that they had followed a delusion, the natural tendency of which was to promote schism among churches and individual christians. They blessed God, that he had showed them their errour, before it had become fatal to their peace.

Thus ended one of the most intricate, vexatious, and unhappy disputes, that ever distracted an infant community. Much blame undoubtedly belongs to the antinomian party, by whom it originated ; but the magistrates and ministers are not wholly to be exculpated. Our ancestors had settled this country for the sake of enjoying the rights of conscience and the liberty of private judgment. Yet here was a woman arraigned, condemned by the court, expelled from the church, and banished the commonwealth for doing nothing more, than the exercise of this freedom implies. The catastrophe of this deluded and unfortunate woman and her family it is melancholy to relate. Her husband, being one of the purchasers of Aquetneck, sold his estate in Massachusetts, and removed with his family to that isl-



and. On the death of Mr. H. in 1642, Mrs. Hutchinson, dissatisfied with the people or place, removed to the Dutch country beyond New Haven ; and, the year after, she and all her family, consisting of sixteen persons, were killed by the Indians, with the exception of one daughter, whom they carried into captivity.\* Several strange stories respecting this woman and her companion, Mrs. Dyer, are to be found in Winthrop's journal, which at this day are hardly credible. They are of little importance, and hold no proper connexion with the merits of the controversy.

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1638.

Although we have reprobated the spirit, with which this long dispute was managed, on the part of the governour and the majority of the clergy, yet perhaps they could hardly have been more lenient. On a first view of the affair, we are ready to wonder, that the private opinions of a woman, and even the parlour lectures, she was pleased to hold at her house, should excite so strongly the apprehensions of the most learned and powerful men in the state. We are ready to ask, what harm could have arisen from the sentiments, lectures, and even calumnies of this infatuated female, so long as she enjoyed no peculiar political privilege, and could nowise direct the power of the magistrate. Yet reflection teaches us, that human nature was the same at that period, as it is now ; and we know, that those,

\* Holmes's Ann. i. 298.



## SECT. II.

1638.

who then held the reins of government in the state and church, were wise and good men. Candour therefore would lead us to conclude, that they did what, on the whole, was best to be done, and that the peace of the christian community could not otherwise have been preserved.

The temper of these times is visible in the care taken by the court to guard against extravagance in dress. It was imagined by some of the magistrates, that the women indulged themselves in too much expense this way. They accordingly conferred with the ministers on the subject, and charged them to address themselves to the consciences of their hearers. The ministers promised to attend to the matter ; but it was found, that their own wives participated in this fault, and therefore little was effected in the business.

Two years since, a Mr. Bernard, of Batcomb, Somersetshire, England, transmitted a manuscript to the magistrates, and another to the ministers, the object of which was to show, that the mode of gathering churches in this country was wrong. So busily had the clergy been occupied, since the arrival of this work, with the hutchinsonian dispute and its consequent mischiefs, that none had found time to answer it. It was now answered by Mr. Cotton, who, about this time also, replied to another treatise written in defence of a form of prayer.

In December, this year, a woman was hanged for murdering one of her children. She had been a member of the church at Salem, but had been

excommunicated for antinomianism ; and she pretended to justify her crime by internal revelations.

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1634.

On the recommendation of the magistrates and ministers, a fast was kept to deplore the prevalence of the small-pox, the want of zeal in the professors of religion, and the general decay of piety. Mr. Cotton, in his exercises on that occasion, copiously and particularly lamented his own and the church's indolence and credulity, whence it happened, that the errours, which had required immense labour to extirpate, had become so generally disseminated. He stated the particular reasons and manner of his deception, and justified the measures, which had been adopted to expatriate the fomentors of ecclesiastical discord.

The behaviour of the hutchinsonians but too well justified the severity, they had experienced. At Aquida, whither they had retired, they were constantly broaching some diabolical error. Among other foolish notions, they maintained, that women had no souls, that moral virtues were the antichrist mentioned by the apostle Paul, and that the devil and the Holy Ghost had an indwelling with every believer.

Those, who went to the falls of Piscataqua, gathered a church there. They wrote to First Church, desiring the dismissal of Mr. Wheelwright, whom they were about to employ, as an officer. First Church refused to comply with the request, because Wheelwright did not himself join in the

SECT. II. request. A personal application on his part was  
1639. afterwards made, which was immediately granted.

A Mrs. Oliver of Salem, whose temper had been soured by sufferings in England for nonconformity, caused the court, about this time, no little uneasiness. The magistrates and churches of Massachusetts were also much disturbed by the contentions at Providence. The degree of ecclesiastical liberty, which Mr. Williams there introduced, seems to have been greater, than the people were able to bear ; and he had acted on maxims, the consequences of which were not clearly foreseen.

A church, recently formed at Weymouth, settled a minister by the name of Leathall, who became unpopular at court. It was alleged against him, that he innovated upon the order of the churches, and, in particular, that he was for the general admission of baptized persons to the communion, without a particular examination of their faith. However salutary this species of reform might be, in certain circumstances, it was inexpedient at that age of the Newengland church. It brought upon Mr. L. and his church the whole weight of the odium theologicum. His measures were controlled ; and he was compelled publicly to retract his opinions. This was not all. It was unsafe to express an opinion, that the christians at Weymouth had a right to institute whatever discipline they conceived to be agreeable to the scriptures. Every man, in short, who attempted to act unfettered by the decrees of the court, and

the judgment of the ministers, found himself circumscribed. The punishment of one Britton, in particular, is worth recording. He had spoken reproachfully of the answer, which was written to Mr. Bernard's book, against the mode of constituting and governing the American churches, and had moreover freely espoused the cause of Mr. Leathall. For this conduct, as he had no property to pay a fine, which they might impose, he was openly whipped.

In the beginning of this year, the church was troubled with a Capt. Underhill, who, after behaving in a licentious manner in Boston, went to Piscataqua, where he derided the censures and authority of the church.

Mr. Cotton, preaching from Kings viii. 8. undertook to show, that, when magistrates are obliged to provide for the maintenance of ministers, the churches are in a declining condition. He gave it, as his opinion, that the preachers of the gospel should be supported, not by lands, revenues, and tithes, which are the occasion of pride, contention, and sloth, but by the voluntary contributions of their hearers.

At Providence Mr. W. and some of his company were rebaptized, a few months since; after which he denied communion with all others. Now again he was ready to question his second baptism, unable to derive its authority from the apostles, otherwise than by the ministers of England, whom he judged no authority whatever. In this difficulty he imagined, that God would

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SECT. II. raise up some apostolick power. He therefore

1639.

devoted himself to the expectation of that office. Formerly he could commune with none, but his wife, now he was in charity with professors of every class. On account of his thus shifting his ground, some of his followers left him, and returned to the churches, whence they had issued.

A lesson on morals may be taken from a circumstance, which, this year, happened. At the general court, holden in November, great complaint was made of the oppression of certain traders. One Robert Kaine, who kept a shop in Boston, was notorious. The deputies fined him 200*l.* and the magistrates 100*l.* The last sum only was paid. After the court had censured him, he was called to account by First Church. He bewailed his offence ; but a partial defence was set up by him or his friends, on the ground, that if a man lost in one commodity, he might make it up in another, and that, if through ignorance a man had given more for an article, than it was worth in Europe, he might sell it for more, than it was worth in Newengland. These things afforded Mr. Cotton an opportunity, on the next lecture day, to expose the error of such false principles, and to give some directions on the subject. *The false principles were these.* 1. A man may sell as dear, and buy as cheap, as he can. 2. If a man lose by casualty in some of his commodities, he may raise the price of the rest. 3. That he may sell, as he bought, though he paid too dear, and though the commodity be fallen. 4.



That as a man may take the advantage of his own skill, so also he may of another's ignorance or necessity. 5. Where time is given for payment, the same recompense is to be taken of one, as of another.

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1639.

*Rules for trading were these.* 1. A man may not sell above the current price, that is, such a price, as is usual in the time and place, and as another, who knows the worth of the commodity, would give for it, if he wanted it ; as that is called current money, which every one will take. 2. When a man loses in his commodity for want of skill, he must look at it, as his own fault or cross, and therefore must not lay it upon another. 3. When a man loses by casualty of sea, it is a loss cast upon himself by providence, and he may not ease himself of it by casting it upon another. For a man would thus seem to provide against all providences, that he should never lose. But where there is a scarcity of the commodity, there men may raise their price, for now it is a hand of God upon the commodity, and not the person. 4. A man may not ask more for his commodity, than his selling price, as Ephron to Abraham, the land is worth so much.

Some of the brethren were for excommunicating the man ; but he was excused by a simple admonition, on the presumption, that his error was rather in his judgment, than in his heart.

Towards the close of the year 1639, the congregation meditated the rebuilding of their house

SECT. II. of worship. The old one, which was erected in  
1639. 1632, having become not only decayed, but also too small to accommodate the people, there was no question about the necessity of a new house, but a wide and warm difference of opinion respecting where it should stand. Some of the inhabitants were for placing it on what was then called the green, now probably common street, which was the governour's first lot. Others, particularly the tradesmen, were inclined to build it still nearer the market, than where the old one stood, which was near the spot now occupied by the northwest corner of the Exchange. Many words were expended in both talking and writing on the subject. Mr. Cotton, without whom neither ecclesiastical, civil, nor secular affairs apparently prospered, at length interfered. It was unsafe, in his opinion, to remove it to the green, as many persons had purchased and settled round the market, in the expectation of being accommodated, as in other things, so in their proximity to the place of worship. It was finally determined with a good degree of harmony to erect the new church on the plat, where the Old Brick lately stood, and which now is covered by the block of buildings in cornhill square. The contractors for the work calculated, that it would cost 600*l*. They offered to take the old for half that sum, and the complement was to be supplied by voluntary contributions of the people. The church however cost about 1000*l*. ; yet the expenses

were defrayed without either murmurs or assessments. SECT. II.

1639.

The religious society was now in a prosperous state. That disaffection, which a majority of the members had formerly manifested towards the pastor and governour, had happily subsided, and all was tranquillity and love. A while since, these gentlemen were viewed, as under a covenant of works, and having no interest in the doctrines of grace. But, under these suspicions and cool treatment, they had behaved with great meekness, never complaining of unkind usage, nor manifesting zeal for the propagation of their own opinions. Though often and strongly solicited to withdraw themselves from communion, they had withstood the solicitation, until now the odium, which was upon them, had gradually worn away, and they found themselves in possession of the wonted confidence and affection of their friends. The governour in particular had a proof of the returning love of the brethren, when, suffering a heavy loss, through the delinquency of a bailiff, they generously presented him with 200*l*. Men of prudence have here a fresh stimulus to perseverance in a course of moderation, and a new proof, that principle and truth will eventually triumph over faction and falsehood.

In truth, the temper of the times had begun to soften, and, if theological combatants had lost none of their inward bitterness, they had yet learned to contend with better manners. Somewhat of this accommodating disposition is visible

SECT. II. in a dispute, which happened about this time between the magistrates and ministers, concerning the frequency and length of lectures. It was matter of observation and complaint among many, that the minds of the people were too highly excited on the subject of religion, and that their health and property were impaired by a continual routine of devotional exercises. It was therefore proposed, that the general court should correct the procedure by some wholesome restrictions. Ministers were grieved at the proposal and said, that, admitting the evil to exist, it ought not to be cured in this way ; for it would be a virtual subjection of the ecclesiastical to the civil authority, which would go to abridge the liberties of the church, and create a stigma on the age in the eye of posterity. Finding the clergy so hurt by the intended measure, and knowing their influence in the community, the magistrates pushed the matter no further. The discussion was nevertheless attended with salutary consequences.

1640. It seemed, as though the hutchinsonian controversy was never to be terminated. In March, 1640, the church sent a deputation of three members to Aquida to learn the grounds, upon which the church in that place admitted to communion excommunicated members. But the mission was worse than useless. It served to foment a party spirit at home, and to exasperate the minds of those, for whose benefit the measure was intended. The persons, admonished, disclaimed any alliance with First Church, and of course its au-

thority. They had adjoined themselves to another church, and, as members of the new church, claimed the right of making their own regulations. This was not the only instance of the active, artful, and persevering spirit of Mrs. Hutchinson. She was continually fruitful of contrivances to secure her power, and to entangle in her toils the young and unwary. Two young men, designed for the ministry, by the names of Collins and Hales, were successively led by curiosity to be acquainted with so extraordinary a character. Their curiosity ended in a complete subjection to her sway.

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1640.

Ineffectual as had been many efforts of the church towards producing a penitent temper in her refractory children, there is an instance on record of a different sort. One capt. Underhill, a notorious rogue, had often been admonished and suspended, and was at length cast out of the church for his ambitious, lascivious, and adulterous conduct. Still he showed no signs of repentance. Waxing worse and worse, he seemed ripening for eternal perdition. At Piscataqua he had established a church, and put himself in the governour's chair. But his civil and ecclesiastical power was wholly directed to promote his own selfish and diabolical ends. Once indeed he pretended to something like a reformation; but his hypocrisy was too evident to deceive the most charitable and credulous christian. All at once however he came from the eastward, and threw himself at the feet of the church. All disguise



SECT. II. and palliation and pride were at an end. With  
 1640. abundance of tears he bewailed and aggravated his offences, justifying the afflictive dispensations of providence towards him, and all the frowns and censures of the church. He went to the general court, which was then sitting, and there repeated his dolorous contritions. Yet not many months elapsed, before he was as diligently as ever at work in scenes of contention and iniquity.

1641. Ever since the commencement of the hutchinsonian dispute, there had been so much talk and dissensions about the rights of the church and the authority of the court, that it was thought necessary by some, that the power of each should be exactly defined. A motion to this effect had been made, at a former session of the legislature. At the session holden in October, 1640, the subject went through a new discussion ; but there was so great a difference of opinion among the members, that no decision was obtained.

In the face however of that rigorous discipline, which was supported by the joint authority of magistrates and ministers, there were some, who were bold enough to indulge the utmost liberty of thought and expression. A Mr. Hugh Bewett, for instance, made no secret of declaring his belief, that he was free from original sin, and that, for some time past, he had been guilty of no actual transgression. In this avowal he seemed desirous of gaining no peculiar reputation for sanctity ; for he maintained, that similar purity of life is attainable by christians in general. Yet he was

thought a monster of impiety, and by the court of assistants banished the jurisdiction.

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1641.

At the autumnal session of the general court, in 1641, it was ordered, that the ministers should agree upon a form of catechism, which should be printed for general use.

It was again the misfortune of our church to be troubled with one or two members of the Hutchinson family. Rumours of their new and increasing heresies at Aquida had sometimes reached this part of the country ; but, as they were at a great distance, little apprehension was felt concerning them. Becoming every thing by turns, they at length turned baptists ; and, as if the parent church had not been sufficiently enlightened with their new divinity, a son of Mrs. H. and a son-in-law, named Collins, came to Boston with a fresh supply of innovating doctrines. It was now taught by these fanaticks, that there had been founded no true churches, since the days of the apostles ; that the church was at present in the wilderness ; that she could enjoy no ordinances, and make no progress, until she came forth from her state of darkness. Hearing certain of their scandalous speeches against First Church and the civil government, the governour sent for Collins and Hutchinson, who came before him, and who, refusing to acknowledge contrition for their errors, were committed to prison. The court afterwards fined the former of these men 100*l.* and the latter 50*l.* ; but, as they utterly refused to pay, patiently remaining imprisoned, the

SECT. II. magistrates relented, remitted their fines, and gave them their liberty.

1641.

Perhaps the morals of the inhabitants of the town never were purer, since its settlement, than at the present period. It is said, that of twelve hundred men bearing arms on a training day not one was intoxicated, or guilty of using profane language.

It may be proper here to mention an instance of pastoral fidelity in Mr. Cotton. It was moved in caucus by one Mr. Hathorne, a man of some influence, that two of their deputies, of long standing, who had fallen into low circumstances, but otherwise respectable, should be dropped and succeeded by others in more eligible circumstances. Mr. Cotton, hearing of the project, took occasion, on the next lecture day, pointedly, though prudently, to condemn it. He taught, that, if old and faithful officers had grown poor in the publick service, they should be maintained at the publick expense. The reproof was clearly understood and pungently felt; for the motion was never renewed.

1642.

The unbounded liberty of opinion, which was tolerated at Providence, was, at times, the occasion of no little disturbance. Gorton was incessantly busy and sometimes mischievous. It was contended amongst them by some, that a portion of power belonged to the church; others maintained, that she had none. Mr. Williams moderated the fury of the parties.

One Turner of Charlestown, having led an immoral life, became alarmed at his situation by the preaching of Mr. Shepard. His religious melancholy rose to such an intolerable height, that he threw himself into a pit and drowned.

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William Aspinwall, who had formerly been banished for his adherence to Wheelwright, came and voluntarily confessed his errors, and was received into the bosom of the church. He did the same to the general court, who thence released his banishment.

Capt. Underhill was now in favour with the church, who assisted him in his preparations to go with his family and seek a settlement among the Dutch in the state of Newyork.

A cooper's wife at Hingham, under the influence of enthusiasm, went to a creek in the neighbourhood of her house and threw in her child, about three years old, with an intention to drown it. This attempt was repeated, though it proved successless through the interposition of passengers. She assigned no other reason for her conduct, than an endeavour to save her child from everlasting misery ; and she could not endure, that it should suffer that torment, of which she was certain. She insisted upon it, that she had sinned against the Holy Ghost, and was incapable of repentance.

In this year appeared a surreptitious edition of Mr. Cotton's book on the seven vials. A Mr. Humphrey had gotten the notes from a man, who

SECT. II. had taken them in short hand from the preacher's  
1642. mouth, and printed them in London. Mr. Cotton complained much and justly of this injury ; not that he was ashamed of his sentiments, but he was entitled to the care, at least, of perusing and correcting the copy, before it was printed.

Almost every year brought generous contributions of people into the infant settlement from the parent country. Latterly however from the circulation of unfriendly reports concerning New-england, the spirit of emigration had greatly cooled. It was therefore a pleasing circumstance to welcome, in September of this year, the arrival of Mr. William Hibbins with a small company, whose dispositions and habits were in unison with the feelings and views of those, who had already become attached to the soil. Their voyage had been perilous, and their thanksgiving to almighty God for the escape, they had made from a world of dangers, were proportionally fervent and observable.

It was in this year, that Messrs. Cotton, Davenport, and Hooker received an invitation from England to visit that country, for the purpose of sitting in synod upon the principles and mode of ecclesiastical government. The request excited much attention and a diversity of opinion. Mr. Cotton, at first, thought favourably of a compliance, and so thought Mr. Davenport ; but Mr. Hooker, in this instance wiser than his brethren, openly gave it, as his opinion, that it was not their duty to leave their flocks in this wilderness, and



and traverse an ocean of three thousand miles to enter upon disquisitions and a controversy, of which it was impossible to foresee the probable termination. Several circumstances, fortunately for these worthy divines, obstructed their voyage ; for letters soon were received from England, informing of a breach between the king and parliament, and advising the ministers to remain in Newengland.

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1642.

Another application of a different nature shortly after was received from Virginia. It was addressed to the general court, and gentlemen of influence in the community, beseeching them to send ministers of the gospel into that region, that its inhabitants might be privileged with the preaching and ordinances of Jesus Christ. Messrs. Phillips, Tomson, and Miller were designated by a meeting of the ministers at thursday lecture ; but Mr. T. only could be prevailed on to obey the call.

If ministers were unwilling to emigrate from Massachusetts, others were differently inclined. Many persons, growing discontented with their situation, thought to mend it by a removal ; but they not only thence lost the benefit of the education, discipline, and worship of christians ; but also plunged themselves into new and inextricable difficulties of a temporal kind. These distresses excited so much sympathy, and the propensity to emigrate nevertheless continuing, that it began to be a question in the church, whether, among christians thus situated, emigration was

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1642.

lawful. It was said, on the one part, that people coming together into a wilderness of beasts and savages, and here entering into a state of civil and ecclesiastical society, do implicitly bind themselves to support that social state. How then can they break away from such a society without the general consent? Who would abandon the privileges of European society for a residence in the desert, if he must run the risk of being left to subdue it alone? If one may take up his connexions, so may another; and in the event of a general departure, where is the commonwealth, the hope of so many ardent and excellent minds? Where is the church, which was planted with so much difficulty, and watered with so many tears? On the other side, it was alleged, that, if restraint was begun to be laid on the actions of settlers, there was no knowing, what would be the end; that enterprize would be checked; that it was resisting that very liberty, in the exercise of which this colony was commenced; and that people never would vigorously assist in building up a state, in which they were compelled to remain. It was therefore pretty generally agreed, that all should enjoy their freedom, though it clearly was the duty of each one to choose, rather with Moses to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to seek temporal ease and pleasure at the hazard of ruin.

In November, 1642, arrived here from the island of Madeira a small ship laden with wines and fruit, in which came her owner, Mr. Parish. This

gentleman had lived several years with papists and jesuits, who endeavoured to dissuade him from coming to Newengland, telling him, that its inhabitants were the worst of all hereticks, the destroyers of bishops and churches, and the promoters of all sorts of mischief. On coming to this country however, he found the previous representations of it to have been false. He blessed the providence of God, which had conducted him hither, and departed with a declaration, that he would not lose what he had gotten in Boston for the wealth of the world.

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[1642.]

On hearing the news of the civil wars between the king and parliament of England, First Church devoted a day to fasting and prayer; and her example was followed by most of her sister churches. These days of humiliation, in the opinion of the magistrates, were becoming too frequent; but they neither durst nor chose to abridge the liberty of the churches.

1643.

The mode of raising the salaries of ministers was different in different churches. Some did it by taxation, others by voluntary contribution.

On 4 June, Mr. Knolles, having returned from Virginia, whither he and his fellowlabourers had gone to disseminate the gospel, presented letters from respectable gentlemen in that region to the governour and some of the ministers. It appeared that the mission had been productive of happy effects.

There are instances of severity in the discipline of the church, which have been salutary in the

SECT. II. issue. A Mrs. Hett had been cast out for her  
1643. wicked and blasphemous speeches, who became  
alarmed at her situation, reformed her manners,  
and returned to the discharge of her pious and  
social duties.

In this year, assembled all the ministers of Massachusetts in the town of Cambridge. About fifty composed the assembly. They all boarded in commons, during the session; and their diet was so simple and so economical, that each meal was furnished to the members for sixpence a piece. Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were the moderators. The object of the convention was to resist the attempts of certain persons, lately arrived at Newbury, and others to establish a presbytery.

The church was troubled with the errors of the fanatical Gorton, whom the governor took with his adherents and brought to Boston. At first they refused to attend publick worship, but were at length prevailed on to hear Mr. Cotton, on condition that they might have liberty of replying to his arguments. The opinions of this sect, like those of Mrs. Hutchinson, were a compound of calvinism and fatalism, and almost utterly unintelligible to the generality of christians. They maintained, for instance, “that there was nothing now but Christ; that ordinances, means, and ministers were merely the inventions of men, and shrines only of the temple of Diana; that, as Christ lived eternally, so he died eternally; that magistracy was an idol of the people; and that a



man might as well be a slave to his own belly, as to his own species." Such was the nonsense, which, in those days, disturbed the peace of the churches, and which the magistrates and ministers thought fit to chastize with fines and imprisonment. SECT. II.  
1644.

In the beginning of the year 1644, Mr. Wheelwright, who, five years since, had caused the church so much uneasiness, wrote a letter to the general court, in which he discovered a spirit of moderation, penitence, and love of peace, that gave great satisfaction. He was accordingly, after a time, released from the odium and sentence of banishment, under which he had been holden.

Congregationalists were alarmed at the increase of the baptists. The magistrates, after encouraging the elders to use with them the means of reformation, ordered, that such, as continued obstinate, should be banished. It ought to be remembered for the honour of the ministers of the Prince of peace, that they did somewhat towards softening the rigour of this unrighteous decree.

There was, this year, a petition drawn up in Hingham, and signed by seven of the inhabitants, complaining, among other things, of the want of religious liberty. It stated, that there were many persons in the community of good morals, and members of the church of England, who are yet prohibited the Lord's supper, because they will not subscribe the church's covenant. Such a subscription they could not justify to their consciences, on the principles of the scriptures. Yet 1645.



SECT. II. they were compelled to attend on publick wor-  
1645. ship, every Lord's day. Much notice was taken of them, and many hard speeches uttered concerning them, if they did not stay, whilst the children of others were baptized, although baptism was denied to their own ; and in some instances they were forced to contribute to the maintenance of such ministers, as would not receive them into their flocks. It was, on the ground of these complaints and disabilities, that they requested liberty, either as episcopalians of enjoying the benefit of ordinances with congregationalists, or of forming an episcopalian establishment for themselves.

Six of these seven petitioners were cited before the court and charged with a number of offences and a general character of rebellion to the order of the churches, and accordingly were fined and imprisoned. Governour Winthrop's popularity was put at hazard by this affair ; but he defended himself with so much firmness, and he possessed so entirely the confidence of a great majority of the commonwealth, that he was exculpated, and thenceforth shared more liberally than ever in the affections of the people. The petitioners however were not to be thus disheartened in their purpose. They resolved to lay their case before the parliament of England ; and Dr. Child and Mr. Fowle accordingly took ship immediately in prosecution of this purpose. The government of Massachusetts were alarmed at the measure, and did every thing in their power to frustrate the design. Mr. Cotton hesitated not in one of his

SECT. II.

1647

sermons to declare, that, if any person should attempt to carry writings complaining of the ecclesiastical proceedings of this country to Britain, he would be a Jonas in the ship. These words of the patriarch were considered oracular. It so happened, that a violent storm arose on the passage, and one of the female passengers, distracted with fear, went to Mr. Fowle, and by her cries and entreaties prevailed on him to give up the obnoxious petition, which she instantly cast into the sea. Mr. Fowle had however taken care to preserve the original papers, which he published, on his arrival, under the title of "New England's Jonas cast up at London." But the Parliament were too busily engaged in other concerns to take cognizance of the thing.

In the year 1648, terminated the synod, which began its session in Cambridge, in 1646. Its sessions had been short and infrequent. Its labours principally consisted in compiling what is called the Cambridge platform, which, together with the Westminster confession of faith, they now recommended to the general court and to the churches of Newengland.

1648.

In 1650, there were about forty churches in Newengland, and seven thousand, seven hundred and fifty communicants.

1650

Nothing remarkable transpired in the church from this time until the death of Mr. Cotton. One thousand and thirty-four children had been baptized, since Mr. Cotton's ordination. Of these 538 were males, and 456 females.

## SECT. II.

1652.

There had also been admitted, during this period, that is, from the beginning of 1634 to the end of 1652, 306 men and 343 women, in all 649. Seventeen persons had been admonished publickly, and five excommunicated for irreclaimable errors. It was an uncommonly interesting epoch to the church. A fraternity was to be formed of discordant materials. Many of those, who composed the church, had been educated Episcopalians, and were therefore disinclined to vary from established forms. Others had come to Newengland, rather as adventurers, than as christians, and could hardly be subjected to any ecclesiastical or political rules. But the sagacity and everwatchful discipline of Mr. Cotton was astonishingly efficacious towards conforming all descriptions of characters to habits of obedience and order. The talents, industry, and influence of this man were of such immense importance to the church in its infant state, that it will not be improper to close the section with a few notices of his life, writings, and character.

Rev. John Cotton was born at Derby, England, of respectable parents, in 1584. He was early sent to the grammar school in the place of his nativity, whence he was taken to Cambridge, and admitted a member of Trinity college. His industry and attainments were equally conspicuous; and he soon became first a member, and afterwards a fellow of Emmanuel college in the same university. Frequent opportunities occurred for the exercise of his abilities; and in all of

them he fully disclosed a deep penetration, a fine fancy, and uncommon scholarship. So perfect was his knowledge of the Hebrew, that, it is said, he could easily converse in that language. He cheerfully assumed the profession, to which his parents had destined him, and consecrated his faculties to the good of the church. His first labours in the ministry were bestowed on a congregation in Boston, Lincolnshire, which duly estimated his singular powers and faithful services. But there he was threatened with the rod of prelati- cal oppression. He was too simple in his manners to kneel at the altar ; and too busy in unfolding the great doctrines of his master to conform with exactness to the idle ceremonies of episcopal invention. Mr. Cotton fled to a country, where he might read and interpret the scriptures for himself, and worship the Deity without doing violence to the dictates of conscience. In 1633, he embarked for Newengland ; and never did the congregational church in this section of our country receive a more valuable accession from the parent state. On his arrival, which was a joyous event to all descriptions of people, he was immediately associated with Mr. Wilson, as teacher of First Church. Here he interested himself in both the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of the new plantation ; and so commanding and extensive was his influence, that he was styled the patriarch of Newengland. It may be almost said, that from him Boston received its name, and its inhabitants their laws. In expound-



SECT. II. ing the scriptures, and in applying their holy  
1652. precepts to the consciences of his hearers, he was remarkably luminous, powerful, and consolatory. All his fellow-worshippers were seriously impressed by his gravity and devotion in the house of God. He was equally eminent for his capacity, as a ruling elder in the church, having an unusual power of expression and management. "He was indeed a burning and a shining light; and the people were willing, for a season, to rejoice in his light."

It was not however permitted to this great and good man to enjoy an unclouded day of terrestrial happiness. In opposing the tenets of Roger Williams, he was accused of supporting principles, which he had formerly laboured to subvert. England saw him resist the spirit of hierarchy; here he seemed desirous of cherishing it. Again, in the antinomian dispute, which happened in 1637, concerning Anne Hutchinson, Mr. C. unfortunately espoused with too much tenderness the cause of fanaticism, and, in the heat of the controversy, lost his temper, and, of course, a portion of his dignity and influence. His enemies, for who is without them? failed not to use his apparent inconsistencies to his mortification. His life was rendered uneasy, and he sighed for the undisturbed repose, which he had vainly hoped to enjoy in this land of promise.

Meekness, piety, goodnature, and talents however, such as fell to the lot of Cotton, could not long suffer their possessour to be comfortless. It



could scarcely happen, that a career of life so honourably begun should be otherwise, than gloriously finished. A mind bursting with generous efforts for the welfare of society soon regained its tranquillity ; and his affectionate heart received the consolation, he wished, in the gratitude, the confidence, and the improvement of his friends. The clouds, which obscured his descending sun, like a storm of thunder in June, gave way to a mild and peaceful radiance ; and the glories of his departing day had all the majesty of full orb'd virtue. He died, 23 Dec. 1652, at the age of sixty-seven, universally and deeply lamented. Both governours and governed bewailed the loss of a man, who, if he loved the rewards of religion, had a still greater love for religion itself, and who, if he loved the possession of power, was disposed to use it for the security of just men and the triumphs of truth. He carried with him to the tomb the unutterable regrets of his friends ; and every individual of an afflicted community was ready to adopt the words of Elisha, when he beheld the ascending prophet, “ My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof.”

SECT. II.

1652.

*List of Rev. John Cotton's works.*

1. The way of life, in four treatises. Lond. 1641. pp. 481. 4to.
2. Christ the fountain of life. Lon. 1651. pp. 256. 4to.
3. God's mercies mixed with his justice. Lon. 1641, pp. 135. 4to.

## SECT. II.

1652.

4. Pouring out of the seven vials. Lon. 1645. pp. 156.  
4to.
5. The church's resurrection. Lon. 1642. pp. 30. 4to.
6. The way of the churches in N. E. Lon. 1645. pp. 116.  
4to.
7. Holiness of church members. Lon. 1650. pp. 95. 4to.
8. Abstract of laws and government. (posth.) Lon. 1655.  
pp. 35. 4to.
9. Keys of the kingdom of heaven. Lon. 1644. pp. 59.  
2d ed. 4to.
10. Exposition on the xiii. chap. of Rev. Lon. 1655. 4to.
11. Milk for babes.
12. Sermon on 1 John. folio.
13. Expositions on Ecclesiastes and Cant. 165. 12mo.
14. Treatise of new covenant (posth.)
15. Answer to Mr. Ball concerning forms, &c.
16. Discourse on grounds and ends of infant baptism.
17. Discourse on singing of psalms.
18. Discourse on things indifferent.
19. Answer to Mr. Cawdry.
20. Answer to Mr. Bayley.
21. Answer to Mr. Williams.

### SECTION III.

From the death of Mr. Cotton, 1658, to the settlement of Mr. Norton, 1656.

THE four years, which elapsed between the death of Mr. Cotton, and the settlement of Mr. Norton, SECT. III. were not strongly marked by any events, either 1652. prosperous or adverse to the church, if we except the waste of life in those, who had contributed to her foundation and support.

The death of Hon. Thomas Dudley, many years lieut. governour, and afterwards for three several years, governour of Massachusetts, happened on 31 July, 1653. He was born at Northampton, England, in 1574. He had been an ardent, active, and useful member of the church, seeking its prosperity with an enlightened and steady zeal. His excessive bitterness against sectaries had been unpardonable in any other, than an age, when the principles of civil and religious liberty were imperfectly understood. He had been conversant with martial as well, as civil life, had filled a variety of offices, and all of them with dignity to himself and usefulness to the publick. The dispute, into which he was led with governour

1653.

SECT. III. Winthrop, in 1631, strikingly displayed the  
1654. piety and gentleness of both. The governour had raised in Mr. Dudley a belief, that Cambridge would be the seat of government, and, on the foot of that expectation, he there planted himself and family. Boston however became the capital; and Dudley demanded satisfaction of Winthrop for the disappointment and expense, he had sustained. The matter was referred to the ministers, who decreed that the governour should procure them a minister at Cambridge, and contribute to his subsistence; or, failing in this measure, should give the deputy 20*l.* towards defraying the cost of his building. The alternative was chosen; but, on paying the stipulated sum, the deputy generously refused its acceptance; and the affair was terminated with mutual professions of esteem and confidence.

Ecclesiastical concerns were not now the subject of much conversation; for the state was busily employed in protecting herself against her enemies.

1655. In the year 1655, according to the historians of that day, Mrs. Anne Hibbins was tried and condemned for a witch, and executed in the following year. There is however no notice of this fact in First Church records.

1656. On the extinction of so splendid a luminary, as that of Cotton, it became necessary, in the estimation of the church, to kindle in its place another light. Rev. John Norton of Ipswich, then distinguished for his literary and theological at-

tainments, was mentioned, as a suitable candidate ; and, it was said, had been nominated by Mr. Cotton himself in his last hours. This gentleman soon came to Boston, and resided here awhile, executing the duties of a minister ; but he occasionally visited Ipswich, and, on the death of Mr. Rogers, in 1655, the tradition is, that he was almost persuaded to return to the people of that place. On 29 Nov. 1655, a church meeting was holden at the house of the pastor, in which it was voted to give Mr. Norton 200*l.* towards the purchase of a house, on the supposition that he becomes the teacher of the church. Numerous obstacles impeded the union. After the lapse of nearly four years, the sitting of several ecclesiastical councils, and the decision of the governour and magistrates in favour of his removal, he and his wife were admitted members of First Church, 6 July, 1656 ; and his installation took place, on the 23d of the same month.

From the commencement of the year 1653 to the end of 1656, there had been two hundred and ten children baptized, one hundred and twenty-three of whom were males. Twenty-four persons, during the same period, were admitted to communion, seventeen of whom were women. Three men and as many women had been dismissed, at their own desire, to other churches ; one male admonished for keeping evil company ; three males excommunicated for the sins of drunkenness and adultery ; and one male, acknowledging the sin



SECT. III. of drunkenness, for which he had been suspended,  
restored to the bosom of the church.

1656.

No regular record of marriages and deaths, for aught that appears, was, at this or any subsequent period, kept by any of the pastors, until the time of Dr. Clarke.

## SECTION IV.

From the settlement of Mr. Norton, 1657, to his death, 1663.

**I**N the opinion of the church and its friends, the settlement of Mr. Norton was an auspicious event. One of his earliest official duties was to go with elder James Penn to Salisbury, for the settling of a religious controversy. In those days, missions of that nature were sufficiently frequent. For a similar purpose he went with a delegate to Hartford, in the beginning of 1657.

SECT. IV.

1656.

A deal of mischief was now happening to the quakers, twelve of whom were banished by the government.

In January, 1657, the following question was proposed to the church, which passed in the affirmative. "Whether the relation of immediate children of church members be such, as giveth the church a church power over them, and consequently, whether it is the duty of the church to exercise that power regularly upon them, that their life and knowledge may be answerable to the engagement of their relation; and whether it be the church's mind, that solemn notice be given to them seasonably." It was, in consequence of this

1657.

SECT. IV. vote, for some time the practice of the church to  
1657. admonish and even excommunicate the offending children of church members. In the course of the year, a kind of synod was holden by twenty-six ministers to consult on the subject of enlarging the door to the ordinances, particularly to baptism. It was agreed, that the children of church members should be baptized. For the same and one  
1662. other purpose, another synod was holden at Boston, in 1662, by recommendation of the general court.

The decision was similar, in the case of baptism, to what had been formerly given. The synod declared, that " church members, who were admitted in minority, understanding the doctrine of faith, and publicly professing their assent thereunto, not scandalous in life, and solemnly owning the covenant before the church, wherein they give up themselves and children to the Lord, and subject themselves to the government of Christ in his church, their children are to be baptized." The other matter before the synod was, whether it be expedient to have a consociation of churches? This question was answered in the affirmative. Yet it does not appear, that any measures were taken to effectuate the design.

1663. The following year is rendered memorable in the church by the death of Mr. Norton. This gentleman was born, 6 May, 1606, at Stortford, Hertfordshire, England, of poor but respectable parents. In early childhood, he discovered a ripeness of wit, which indicated extraordinary

powers in future life. He was seasonably placed at school under Mr. Strange, of Bunningford. SECT. IV

1663

At the age of fourteen, he was sent to Peterhouse, where he stayed, until he had taken his first degree. Here a missionary of the roman church, carefully observing his talents and behaviour, used every means to draw him into the support of the catholick faith without success. He left the university for an ushership at the school, and a curacy in the church of Stortford. He here devoted himself to the writing of sermons, and became excellent in the practice. His learning and abilities rendered him an object of attention with the dignitaries of the church ; but his conscience would not suffer him to conform to episcopal ceremonies, which he deemed unscriptural. A fellowship in Katherine-hall, Cambridge, he was also solicited to take by Dr. Sibbs ; but his aversion from episcopacy prevented his acceptance. He contented himself with being private chaplain to Sir William Marham, in Two-Knights-house. He was also associated with a number of pious ministers, equally firm with himself in dissenting from the established church, in the maintenance of a stated lecture in his native town, from which, he always thought, he derived professional and personal improvement.

Mr. Edward Winslow, afterwards governour of Plymouth, sailing for England, in 1633, was employed by the people of Old Colony to procure them a minister. In the execution of this design

SECT. IV. he met with Norton, and persuaded him to come  
1663. over.

In the year 1634, Mr. Norton married, and embarked with his wife for Newengland ; but, being driven back by a violent storm, he did not arrive in America, until the following year.

He resided in Plymouth, one winter only, complaining, that his accommodations were not such, as he expected, and preferring the situation of Massachusetts, and the temper of the inhabitants. Having awhile associated with the ministers and people of Boston and the vicinity, he planted himself in Ipswich, where a company of worthy christians contributed as much to his comfort, as he to their edification.

On his removal to this church, he wrote the life of his predecessor in a style of eloquence exceeding any thing; which this country had witnessed in any of his contemporaries. At the age of thirty, his reputation for scholarship was high in the parent country. Here, with the exception of president Chauncy, he was without a rival. In 1644, Gulielmus Apollonius of Zealand, a dutch divine, sent hither a number of questions on ecclesiastical government. It was unanimously agreed among the clergy, that Mr. Norton should assume the task of answering the work. He despatched it, the following year, in the first latin book ever written in this country. It is prefaced by a short address to the reader signed, Tho. Goodwin, Phil. Nye, Sidr. Simpson, dated Lond. Feb. 16, 1647 ; and by an elaborate epistle of some length



to the author, signed Johannes Cotton in Ecclesia SECT. IV.  
 Bostoniensi Presbyter docens. The performance 1663.  
 was celebrated in both hemispheres for the learning, discernment, candour, and elegance, which it displayed.

In the synod, which met at Cambridge in 1646, and protracted its sessions, until 1648, Mr. Norton acted a conspicuous part, revealed an unusual acquaintance with school divinity, and left the traces of his pen in the lines of the platform.

His tenets were in the highest degree rigid, surpassing in terrour even those of the celebrated Calvin. He maintained, that there is one God subsisting in three persons ; that the will of God is the cause of all causes, and second causes the effects of the first cause ; that the will of man is an instrument disposed and determined to its action according to the decree of God, being equally subordinate to it, as is the axe to the hand of the hewer ; that man, even in violating God's command, fulfils God's decree ; that the infallible ordering of the existence of sin for a better end, and the forbidding of sin are not at all inconsistent, but fall under the compass of the same one volition of God, which cannot be resisted or defeated ; that God is not the author of sin, and yet that he does not merely permit it, since he has decreed it ; that the reprobates freely commit such a measure of sin, as fits them for the intended measure of wrath ; that man is a free agent, having a real efficiency, though subordinate to the first cause, which determines the second in its

SECT. IV. operation ; that all mankind participated in Adam's sin, and also have it imputed to them ; that  
1663. original sin is the hereditary and habitual contrariety and enmity of the nature of man against the whole will of God ; that God has elected, whom in his wisdom and mercy he pleased, to eternal life ; that the conversion of these is the effect of God's spirit ; that good works are necessary, as the way to salvation, but not as the cause ; that the only meritorious cause of salvation is the active and passive obedience of Jesus Christ, which is imputed to believers, and received by faith alone ; that only the elect believe in the Redeemer ; that their faith is the effect of absolute, special, irresistible grace ; and that the will is passive, not having the nature of a free agent, in the first reception of grace.

The severity of his religious system led Mr. Norton to favour a principle of intolerance. He had charity enough to walk with those, between whom and himself there was a difference of sentiment on subjects of minor importance ; but, when he thought the fundamental doctrines of christianity were denied, he justified the magistrate in unsheathing the sword ; not recollecting, that what he deemed a fundamental doctrine might be considered an unessential tenet by a fellow-christian ; and that, since they both had renounced the authority of any earthly infallible judge, the only way to live quietly was to allow to each other the right of inquiring and deciding for himself.

In his publick performances Mr. Norton proved himself master of a copious eloquence, equally captivating to the scholar and the unlettered christian. Those, who had enjoyed his pastoral instructions in Ipswich, frequently travelled to Boston, after his removal, for the benefit of his lectures ; and such was the influence of his prayers on the young divines of that day, that they made him their model, as to the matter and manner of their pulpit devotions.

SECT. IV.

1662.

In private life Mr. Norton was blameless and exemplary, though he had to contend with a choleric temper, and a natural inclination to gaiety.

To his other good qualities Mr. Norton joined an ardent and steady attachment to his adopted country. His patriotism led him to earnest and successful efforts to prevent hostilities between the people of this colony and their Dutch neighbours, and afterward to embark for England in company with Simon Bradstreet, esq. with an address to Charles II. on his restoration to the throne. This embassy however, in its issue, was fatal to the popularity and peace of Mr. Norton. Having faithfully served the interests of the country, the agents returned with this assurance from the king, that he would ratify to the colony its charter. But along with this promise was a requisition, that justice should be administered in his name, and that all persons of sober conversation should be permitted to enjoy the ordinance of the supper themselves, and that of bap-

SECT. IV. tism for their children. Here was an infringement, as the people conceived, of their religious freedom ; and it was instantly reported, that the agents had sold the liberties of the country. Mr. Norton's consciousness of integrity was hardly able to sustain his share of an unmerited reproach. The chilling looks, which he received from countenances, once expressive of nothing but approbation and friendship, damped the ardour of his professional pursuits, and contributed, it is thought, to shorten his days. For, after his return, his wonderful talent in extempore prayer was no longer admired ; and the same sermons, which in other days were heard with a kind of ecstacy, now fell powerless on the ears of a languid auditory. It is traditioned, that even the venerable and benevolent Wilson was heard to say, that he must have another colleague. Mr. Norton died suddenly, 5 April, 1663, leaving no children. He was the author of the following publications.

1663.

1. Responsio ad totam quaestionum syllogen, &c. &c. Lond. 1648. 12mo.
2. A letter in latin to John Dury.
3. A Discussion of the Sufferings of Christ. 1653. 12mo.
4. The Orthodox Evangelist. 1654, 4to.
5. Election Sermon, 1657, 12mo.
6. Life of Rev. John Cotton, 1658.
7. Heart of Newengland rent by the blasphemies of the present generation, &c. 1660, 8vo.
8. Election Sermon, 1661.
9. A Catechism.



10. Three choice and profitable sermon s on several texts, SECT. IV.  
 being the last sermons, which he preached at the  
 election, at the Thursday lecture, and on the 1663.  
 sabbath. 1664.

From the year 1657 to the end of 1663, seventy-one members were added to the church, forty nine of whom were females.

During the same space of time, the number of female baptisms was one hundred and fifty-four, and that of male baptisms one hundred and forty-nine.

Concerning the period, to which these minutes relate, we cannot but remark, that a persecuting temper was the fault of the age. The quakers especially were now treated with a degree of severity altogether unjustifiable, on any principles of the gospel or of common humanity. It is to be feared, that Mr. Norton too much approved the course, which was pursued against them. For they cordially rejoiced in his death, and reported, "that the Lord had smitten John Norton, chief priest of Boston, and, as he was sinking down by the fireside, being under just judgment, he confessed the hand of the Lord was upon him, and so he died." Mr. Norton undoubtedly partook of the fault of the age, which was a persecuting temper. Men, who had been imprisoned in England for their zeal in nonconformity, were here imprisoning others for precisely the same fault. They mixed their politicks with their religion, and blended the articles of their creed with consideration for the publick safety,



SECT. IV. The age therefore, of which we speak, was necessarily an age of theological bitterness, inconsistency, and strife. The weaker party was the prey of the stronger, and the conscientious sectary, like Noah's dove, found no rest for the sole of his foot.

1663.

## SECTION V.

From the death of Mr. Norton to that of Mr. Wilson, including the years 1664, 1665, 1666, 1667.

AT the age of seventy-six, Mr. Wilson was once more left alone with the care of the church. It could not be expected, that he should now be able to make very vigorous exertions towards the increase and prosperity of the flock ; yet there appears to have been no diminution of zeal for the cause of religion, either in the pastor or the members. From the beginning of 1664 to the close of 1667, eighty-three persons, forty-nine of whom were females, adjoined themselves to the church. In the same space of time, two hundred and twenty-four children were baptized, one hundred and fourteen of whom were females.

SECT. V.

1664.

The records appear to have been correctly made, and good order maintained in the church.

1665.

But the period was come, in which the earthly labours of the pious Wilson were to be exchanged for rest in the mansions of heaven.

This virtuous and amiable man was born at Windsor, England, in 1588, and was son of Rev. Dr. Wilson, prebendary of St. Paul's, London.

SECT. V. He was educated at Eton college, under Udal  
1666. and Langley. After a residence of four years, he was removed to Cambridge, in the 15th year of his age, and admitted into King's college in 1602. Becoming acquainted in this place with a number of pious young men, he occasionally associated with them in his chamber for prayer and the reading of theological books. Having received ordination from a bishop, he was for some time minister of Sudbury, county of Suffolk, where he was silenced for nonconformity. His father used every imaginable means to reclaim him, but to no purpose. He then advised him to enter upon the study of law. This advice young Wilson obeyed, during two or three years ; but his heart was still bent on being a minister of religion. He was permitted to proceed for master of arts ; but the degree was not without difficulty to be obtained, except by subscribing articles, to which he was conscientiously opposed. He however refused to subscribe, whatever the refusal might cost him. He adopted a most solemn resolution to go to the ends of the earth, if he might thence enjoy liberty of conscience and a pure worship. He kneeled at the deathbed of his father for a blessing, which he obtained.

He was employed, as a chaplain in families of rank and opulence, where, with a boldness honourable to his profession, he reproved the profane and censured the levity of the gay and irreligious. Though persecuted and silenced, yet he repeated

ly obtained a liberty of preaching, through the intercession of friends, and his own perseverance.

SECT. V.

1667.

Such a precarious freedom however was little better, than continual bondage. He resolved upon travelling to a country, which, if it possessed fewer means of knowledge and elegant subsistence, afforded the finest field for the cultivation of unfettered religion.

He came hither in the same company with governour Winthrop and the first settlers of Massachusetts. In 1631, he went to England for his wife, whom he there left the preceding year. He gave it in charge to governour Winthrop and elder Nowell to prophesy and exhort in the church, during his absence. Mr. Eliot, the apostle however, landing about the time of Mr. Wilson's departure, officiated in his stead.

Mr. Wilson returned with his family, in 1632. In 1634 he again crossed the Atlantick, and, after visiting Ireland and several parts of England, came back, the following year, to America, which he thenceforth made his perpetual residence. He here fulfilled, during thirty-seven years, the office of pastor ; three years before Mr. Cotton ; nineteen years in his company ; seven years with Mr. Norton ; and four years after him.

He was more beloved for his humility, benevolence, and sweetness of temper, than admired for his talents, as a preacher, although these, in his younger days, were nowise contemptible. He was strong in faith, yet stronger in love. In many instances he seemed to attain to a full assu-

SECT. V. rance of faith ; and the verity of his predictions  
1667. was proverbial. When Mr. Norton was called to leave Ipswich, to be a successour to Mr. Cotton, the colleague of Mr. Norton, Mr. Rogers opposed the measure. Some persons in company with the latter remarked, that Mr. Wilson by his argument, or rhetorick, or both, would effect his purpose. Mr. Rogers replied, that he was more afraid of his faith, than of his arguments. This reputation for an unwavering faith and a prophetic spirit brought many of his friends to his dying bed, with a request, that he would designate the sins of the times, which, in his opinion, were the most heinous, and which, in their operation, would probably operate most ruinously on the country. He gave his opinion freely, saying, that God would judge the people for their rebellious, self-willed spirit, for their contempt of civil and ecclesiastical rulers, and for their luxury and sloth. Here perhaps we shall do well to recollect, that his mind was greatly enfeebled by age and disease. With all his zeal for religion and benevolence for mankind, he had no sympathy with the sectary. Like Norton, Dudley, and others, he was for compelling the uniformity of irregular christians with other arguments, than such, as were furnished by reason and revelation. Go not after those enthusiasts, said he, for, whatever they may pretend, they will rob you of ordinances, rob you of your souls, rob you of your God.

He indulged a poetical vein in writing anagrams on his friends, in which he always contriv-



ed to convey some moral and religious instruction. In reference to these, which were not always exact, and to his remarkable hospitality, it was said by the witty author of the *Simple Cobbler of Agawam*, that the anagram of John Wilson was, "I pray come in, you are heartily welcome."

In all the offices of friendship and good neighbourhood he seems to have been a model of christian charity, being full of compassion to the distressed, of advice to the friendless, and of consolation to the aged. To designs and deeds of beneficence his heart and his purse were always open. He loved the house and worship of God, and was concerned for the spiritual improvement, not only of his own congregation, but of the neighbouring churches. He was seen assisting at their lectures as long, as he was able to preach; and, after age had palsied his head and his hands, his heart still glowed with the warmth of youth, and he was, conversant among his friends, counselling them to adhere firmly to the good profession of their faith, and in the language of St. John exhorting them, "Little children love one another."

His humility shone brightly to the last. On his dying bed he was surrounded by many of the congregation, who desired to witness the closing scene of the good man's life, and to see with what calmness so excellent a christian would die. He told them, that he should soon go to be with his departed friends in heaven. Yet he added, I

SECT. V. have been an unprofitable servant. The Lord be  
merciful to me a sinner ! He died, 7 Aug. 1667,  
1667. in the seventy-ninth year of his age.

Mr. W. preached his last thursday lecture, 16 Nov. 1665, which was taken in short hand by a hearer, and afterwards published. He also published a tract in London, entitled Helps to Faith.

## SECTION VI.

From the death of Mr. Wilson to the settlement of Messieurs Davenport and Allen, embracing the year 1668.

IT may not here be amiss to glance at the condition of the churches in general. The morals of the people,\* it was thought, had lost something of the purity, which marked the fathers of Newengland. This declension from primitive holiness was attributed partly to a disrespect for synodical decrees, and partly to the inattention of the clergy to their pastoral duties. The governour and council therefore, in 1668, wrote a serious and affectionate letter, addressing it to each minister in the colony. It called upon the teachers of religion in a solemn manner to guard against the slumbers of sloth, and renew their zeal for the spiritual improvement of the souls committed to their watch, and for the general promotion of piety in the land. The measure was well received, and attended with a beneficial effect.† More diligence was observed by pastors in their catechetical instructions; and a disposition was manifested to print and circulate books on practical piety.

SECT. VI.

1668.

\* Neal i. 368.

† Holmes' Ann. i. 401.

SECT. VI. It was in this year, and with a view to the re-  
 1668. vival and diffusion of a spirit of piety, that an attempt was made to print an edition of Thomas a Kempis. The design however failed, through an apprehension in the general court, that the book, being written by a papist, might excite a relish for popish principles. Capt. Daniel Gookin and Rev. Jonathan Mitchel, who were licensers of the press, were accordingly ordered by the court to stop the progress of the work. What would be thought, at this day, of a legislature, which should forbid the publication of any one book of any one sect of christians? Indeed a like degree of rigour, at the same point of time, was not exercised in the parent country. But it had grown customary with men, who had fled the tyranny of the lord bishops to practise the tyranny of the lord brethren.\* Intolerance was the order of the day; and the government of each individual church was as eagle eyed in discovering heresy, and sometimes as cruel in punishing it, as the Spanish inquisition.

This truth was disgracefully manifest, about this period, in the sufferings of the baptists. At the very moment, when congregationalists were writhing beneath the lashes of persecution in England, they seemed determined in this country to retaliate vengeance on dissenters from them. This wicked conduct was neither unnoticed nor unreprieved.† A letter was sent from London to

\* Chalmers i. 392.

† Neal i. 371.

the governour of Massachusetts, signed by Drs. SECT. VI.  
Goodwin and Owen, Messrs. Nye and Caryl, 1668.  
and nine other ministers, entreating him to use his authority for releasing the baptists from prison, and rescuing them from the power of sanguinary laws. But this letter, though penned with moderation and gentleness, and containing the most touching appeals to the heart, made no impression on the congregationalists of Massachusetts. The baptists still groaned in prisons. The most unrighteous laws stared them in the face; and the most villanous conduct was secretly practised to their mischief.

This treatment of the baptists was comparatively trivial to what the poor quakers endured. They were subjects of reproach, scorn, buffetting, scourges, torture, and death. They were stripped of the clothes, they wore, and robbed of the beds, whereon they lay. The vessels, in which they ate, were forced from them, and their food itself reduced almost to nothing. If any thing in extenuation of this persecuting spirit may be alleged, it is the exceedingly irregular and extravagant behaviour of the sectaries, who kept no terms with decency, and strangely imagined, they were doing God service by violating the rules of good manners.

The church was, for the first time, vacant; and the desk was supplied by preachers, whom circumstances threw in the way.

Six men and four women were, this year, admitted to the church, and three male and two female children baptized.



SECT. VI. On the death of Mr. Wilson, the church seem  
1668. to have had no idea of supplying his place by a young man, or a man, who had not been educated in England.

Rev. John Davenport of Newhaven, had formerly exercised his talents in this church, and therefore was not wholly unknown to several of the members. Fame moreover had ever distinguished him among the preachers of this country. He was now seventy years old. At first view, therefore, he would hardly relinquish, at such an age, a place, of which he might be called the planter and patriarch. Those however, who knew all the circumstances of his situation, knew, that he was displeased with the union of Newhaven and Connecticut colonies, and had always manifested a particular attachment to the metropolis of Massachusetts. He was accordingly invited, and he accepted the invitation. Because of his advanced age however, it was thought expedient to unite with him in the care of the church Rev. James Allen. The latter gentleman had been ejected by the Bartholomew act from his living in England, and, for four years, had been a member of First Church. These two gentlemen were installed together, as copastors of the church, on the ninth of December, 1668.

## SECTION VII.

From the settlement of Messrs. Davenport and Allen to the death of the former and the installation of Mr. Oxenbridge. Including the years 1669, 1670.

THE removal of Mr. Davenport was a remarkable event, not only in the history of this church, but in the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts.\*

It will be recollected, that, in 1662, a synod was holden in Boston, which decreed, that persons, owning the covenant, might have their children baptized, although they did not observe the Lord's-supper. The result of this synod Mr. Wilson had subscribed ; and a neglect to observe it, or a disposition to oppugn it, he considered, in his last days, as one of the lamentable errors of the times. Whether he had particular reference to Mr. Davenport, in uttering this lamentation, cannot now be known. Certain it is, that Mr. Davenport was opposed to this result, when it passed, and published his opinion against it afterwards. But, notwithstanding this church agreed with their late pastor respecting the determinations of the synod, and were therefore widely

SEC. VII.

1669.

\* Trum. i. 484.

SEC. VII. asunder from Mr. D. yet they saw fit to elect  
 1669. him, and he to obey their summons. The union  
 however was not effected without difficulty. There were, at that time, two parties in First Church, one of which strongly opposed the measure,\* both on account of the age of the candidate, and the rigidity of his sentiments. Mr. D. had also to surmount a high bar to his removal in the affection of his own church, and in their determination to retain him. In this situation of affairs, it was not surprising, that Mr. D's installation should kindle the flames of ecclesiastical contention. Nor was the evil confined to a small district. Mr. Davenport had been considered, as the head of a party more strictly calvinian, than the body of the colonists. He had also personal friends, and so had the party in First Church, who opposed him.

A part of First Church therefore, to the number of       , formed a society, which made the third congregation in Boston. Seventeen ministers publicly testified their disapprobation of the conduct of the majority of First Church, and especially of its three officers, Messrs. Davenport and Allen, and elder Penn. It was said, on the part of the ministers, that the whole truth respecting Mr. D's dismissal was never told them ; that parts only of letters were read, which ought to have been fully exposed ; and that the publick were not ingenuously dealt with upon the subject. It was denied by Mr. D. and his friends,

\* Hutch. i. 247.

that the letters concealed would have been evidence, that the church at Newhaven refused a dismissal to her pastor ; but only have shown an unwillingness to make it her immediate act.\* A degree of blame attached to both sides. On one side more simplicity and uprightness of conduct was to have been expected ; and those of the other were too curious and meddlesome. The event was not fortunate for any body. Mr. D. shortly died ; Newhaven church became divided, and long remained destitute of a pastor ; and First Church, besides losing a respectable portion of her members, was engaged, for fourteen years, in a controversy with the New, or Third church. This quarrel is said to have been terminated, in consequence of a danger, which happened to both churches, through an attempt to make an episcopal establishment in the town. From this moment they exerted their joint efforts to oppose the missionaries of the English bishops. At first however, the contention was so sharp, that First Church refused to join in acts of communion with the Third ; and fines, and even imprisonments were, in some instances, the result of a fiery and misdirected zeal.† Mr. Bellingham was now governour ; and, being warmly opposed to the seceders, he called the council together with a view of quashing the design, on the presumption, that the erection of a new edifice would militate with the publick safety. To be sure, the forming

\* Hutch. i. 248.

† Back. i. 388.

SEC. VII. of a new church, at that period, was a design of  
1669. vaster magnitude, than at the present day ; for nearly the whole country were enlisted on one side or the other of this unpleasant warfare. But the council were not equally apprehensive with his excellency of ensuing mischief. The general court at length interfered in favour of First Church, and raised a committee to inquire into those prevailing evils, which were the probable cause of God's displeasure towards our land.\* The following is part of their report. " Declension from the primitive foundation work ; innovation in doctrine and worship, opinion and practice ; an invasion of the rights, liberties, and privileges of churches ; a usurpation of a lordly prelatical power over God's heritage ; a subversion of gospel order ; and all this with a dangerous tendency to the utter devastation of these churches ; turning the pleasant gardens of Christ into a wilderness ; and the inevitable and total extirpation of the principles and pillars of the congregational way ; these are the leaven, the corrupting gangrene, the infecting spreading plague, the provoking image of jealousy set up before the Lord, the accursed thing, which hath provoked divine wrath, and doth further threaten destruction." One seems at a loss, on whom to fix this general invective. It was well understood, at that day, to be aimed at the Third Church, and the ministers consenting to its organization.

\* Hutch. i. 249.



The bitter pill contained in the report produced retchings in the stomach and burnings in the heart. At its next session, the general court was addressed by a portion of the clergy too respectable to be neglected, and in language too solemn and pathetick to be silenced. The deputies were now delicately reminded of the services of the clergy, in the early settlement of the country ; and of the happy union, that subsisted between Moses and Aaron, of whom it was said, that, if the former conducted the people, the latter transported the ark of the covenant. They were assured of the loyalty of the ministers ; of their inflexible regard to the principles of congregationalism ; and of their hatred of disorder and licentiousness. The ministers thought it necessary thus to vindicate themselves from the charge of innovation and apostasy, which had been implied, if not expressed, in the abovementioned report. They insinuated, if they did not feel, that they had suffered from the rage of a party, who had endeavoured to widen, instead of healing, the breach between First and Third Church, and to misrepresent and disguise the business in the view of the community. They hoped, an apology would be readily found for their conduct, if they had erred ; and, if they had been wronged, that their wrongs would be redressed. They concluded with a declaration of the purity of their intentions, and of their wish to resist, if possible, the antiministerial spirit, which was rising and spreading in the country, and which, through the sides of the clergy, was wounding the cause of religion.

SEC. VII.

1669.

## SEC. VII.

1669.

This address made a serious and salutary impression on the court. They saw the necessity of giving it a kind and respectful answer. Having therefore apologized for the imprudent warmth, that might have actuated their body, the preceding year, they proceed to express their wishes for conciliation, equity, and peace. They decreed, that all papers referring to the late unpleasant controversy should be accounted useless; and that no odium ought to rest upon those ministers, who had been instrumental in establishing the Third Church. In doing this, however, care was taken to secure the authority of the magistrates; and due caution was administered against questioning the rectitude of legislative proceedings.

It will hence be seen, what sort of connexion subsisted between the civil and ecclesiastical orders of the state. Various causes operated, at times, to diminish the influence of the christian minister. As new settlements were made, parishes were multiplied. The means of subsistence and of knowledge to the pastors of these little flocks were necessarily narrow; and they not infrequently complained, that they prophesied in sackcloth. Want of knowledge and of wealth was consequently want of power. Yet, with all their poverty and the disadvantages of their situation, they possessed their full share of talents and virtue, and were therefore not to be contemned nor neglected. They remembered the views, which planted Newengland; and, if they had not

the learning, they were still animated with the spirit, of their predecessors. Though the civil-ians of that day acknowledged and revered their piety, yet they provided with a jealous eye against the increase of hierarchical rule. So that the churches, notwithstanding their professions and boast of independency, were actually under a kind of political control ; and, on the contrary, through the influence of the clergy, magistrates, who were annually elected, were occasionally displaced, when they were thought to have infringed against the rights of the church.

SEC. VII.

1659.

The most acrimonious and lasting dispute, which took place between First Church and any of its sisters, on the subject of Mr. Davenport's removal, was that between this and the church at Dedham. Letters are now preserved in First Church records, which mark the heat of the ecclesiastical thermometer, at that disputatious period.

The majority of First Church adhered steadily to their choice of Mr. D. and their attachment to his person. In this agitated condition of things, it was not to be expected, that the church would receive large accessions. In 1669, two men only and six women were received, as members. Twenty male and nineteen female infants, in that year, were baptized. But, after Mr. Oxenbridge was associated in the pastoral care, in the following year, fifty-four persons, thirty-five of whom were women, seated themselves at the Lord's table. In that year also, thirty-one male and twenty-eight female children were baptized.

1670.

SEC. VII. In the preceding year, such was the disturbed  
 1670. condition of the church, that offences were frequently happening, and yet the ancient vigour of administration was impaired. The practice however continued, of excommunicating members for almost all sorts of crimes, and of restoring them to communion, upon manifestations of repentance.

On 12 Feb. 1669, "Edward Ransford and Jacob Eliot were dismissed from the office of deacons for setting their hands, with other brethren, to desire their dismissal from the church; because the church had chosen Mr. Davenport for their pastor."\*

On 29 March, 1670, "at a meeting called about our dissenting brethren, the question, whether the church see light from the word of God to dismiss our dissenting brethren, that desire it, was answered in the negative unanimously.\*

"At a general meeting of the church, on 16 August, 1669, it was voted by the church, that our honoured magistrates do draw up instructions for capt. Clarke to N. Haven, that they might declare the owning of the letter sent from them to this church to be a true dismissal for Mr. Davenport."

"At a meeting of <sup>e</sup>y church : on <sup>e</sup>y 20 : of august : 69 It was voted by <sup>e</sup>y church <sup>t</sup>y maj <sup>r</sup>gen <sup>ll</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>r</sup>y elders w capt clark m stoddard

\* First Church Records, p. 31.

and <sup>r</sup>m Cooke do draw up a letter in answer to <sup>c</sup>y SEC. VII  
 letter sent from Dedham church, enquiring after <sup>e</sup>y church about a letter or let-  
 ters from <sup>e</sup>y church of N. Haven to this church,  
 and to sign it in the name of the church.”

1670.

“ On 25 Aug. 1669, the church met to hear the letter read, that was sent to Dedham, and they did unanimously concur with it, as their own mind.”

At a church meeting, on 9 Oct. 1699, “ upon hearing the letters read from N. Haven in answer to a letter of two of the elders to them ; it was voted unanimously, that the church doth stand to the former vote and judgment, in the case of the elders, about the extracting the sense of the letters dismissive.”

These extracts from the records of the church sufficiently show, that she must have been much agitated respecting the affair of Mr. Davenport's removal, and the publick opinion concerning that measure.

The congregation does not appear to have been insensible to the object of religious association. The following vote indicates a laudable concern for the growth of vital religion.

“ At a publick church meeting, on the 13th of the 10th mo. 1669, it was agreed on and concluded by a unanimous vote, that the elders should go from house to house to visit the families, and see how they are instructed in the grounds of religion.”



## SEC. VII.

1670.

Mr. Davenport died suddenly, on the 11th, according to First Church records, and according to Hutchinson and others, on 15 March, 1670. Although his career in Boston was short and troublous, it had been long and glorious in New-england. Few men were better qualified for planting the gospel in a new world; and seldom has any man made a happier use of his natural and moral energies. This remark ought to be verified by a biographical sketch of the father of Newhaven.

Rev. John Davenport was born at Coventry, England, in 1597. He was sent to Merton college, in 1613, whence, after two years, he was removed to Magdalen hall, which he left without a degree. By his incessant and successful application he became one of the first of scholars, and by his gravity, warmth, and ease of elocution, one of the most popular of preachers. He early imbibed the sentiments of puritans, and became a minister to a congregation of them in Colman street, London. Such was the spirit of those times, that he was obliged to resign his pastoral charge. In 1633, he retired into Holland, where he became united with a Mr. Paget, whom he opposed, on account of his administering baptism to children indiscriminately. A controversy ensued, which rendered his situation uncomfortable, and he returned to London. It seems, he had formed an acquaintance with Mr. Cotton, previously to his sailing for this country, and now enjoyed the benefit of his correspond-

ence. By the favourable representation, he received of America, he was led to form a connexion with Messrs. Eaton, Hopkins, and other respectable characters, for the purpose of settling in a land so propitious to civil and religious liberty. They arrived, in 1637, when the antinomian controversy was beginning to rage, in which Mr. D. took a decided and useful part. Not finding sufficient room for themselves and their friends in Massachusetts, they made a large purchase between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers, and founded the city of Newhaven, of which Mr. Davenport became the minister.

With the bold, enterprising spirit of a reformer he devoted his time, money, and strength to the acquisition and security of what he believed to be the right of the citizen and the christian. He had an idea, that a reformation was never carried any further, than by primitive reformers. An emigration into this country therefore, in his opinion, afforded the fairest opportunity for the puritans to effectuate their pious and liberal designs.

No man was ever more scrupulously careful in guarding the doors of the church, and none more rigid in his notions of church discipline. Yet he lived to see and lament, that, with all his caution, the hypocritical and vicious would sometimes find their way to the baptismal font, and the communion board. He refused, for example, to baptize children, unless he had evidence, that they were born of christian parents, who regularly walked in all the ordinances of the gospel.

SEC. VII. In the early part of life, he was continually preaching and publishing against what he called promiscuous baptism, and he thought, that God by a particular providence called him into Holland, that he might bear witness against it in a country, where it was generally prevalent. His rigour in this respect caused him both labour and vexation. For even in those days, there were christians, calling themselves orthodox and puritan, who differed concerning what were the requisite qualifications for the initiatory seal. Mr. Cotton said, that a baptismal creed should contain three articles. Mr. Norton was content, that it should contain only one article ; and others were willing, that baptism should be given to children, whose parents made no profession of faith, except what was implied in attending the ordinance. These last contended, that bringing one's child to be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ is in very deed one of the most solemn modes of declaring a belief in the gospel, and entering into covenant with God.

In sentiment with Mr. Cotton respecting the civil as well, as religious polity of the bible, he endeavoured a system of order, which should nearly correspond with the hebrew institutes and the usages of the primitive christians. The scheme undoubtedly originated in the best intentions of the heart ; but, in our day, it can hardly be believed, that ethicks, good sense, and knowledge of mankind, such as Cotton and Davenport possessed, should conceive it practicable.

He possessed a large share of personal courage as well, as a literary and religious heroism. His intrepidity saved king Charles's judges,\* who fled to Newhaven, in 1661, and who were hidden in his house, whilst he preached in publick before the pursuers a sermon from the following words. "Take counsel; execute judgment; make thy shadow, as the night in the midst of the noonday; hide the outcasts; bewray not him, that wandereth. Let mine outcasts dwell with thee. Moab be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler."†

SEC. VII.

1670.

In private life Mr. Davenport was beneficent, exemplary, amiable; much practising, what he constantly recommended, ejaculatory prayers. On receiving favours, he would resolve to increase his self-examination and watchfulness; and he was wont to repay the ill usage, he met with from enemies, by renewed efforts of kindness to his friends. His piety, prudence, and firmness were the subject of general commendation.

As a scholar, Mr. Davenport was always placed in the first rank. His judgment was profound; and his excursive fancy was guided by a correct taste. Such was the opinion of the Westminster divines of his abilities, that he was invited to a seat in their synod.

He was minister of Newhaven, nearly thirty, and of First Church, not quite two years. He died of an apoplexy, in the 73d year of his age, on 15 March, 1670. His portrait is in the mu-

\* Stiles's *Life* of the Judges.

† Isai. xvi. 3, 4.



SEC. VII. scum of Yale college. He was author of the  
 1670. following publications.

1. Sermon on 2 Sam. i. 18. 1629.
2. Letter to the Dutch Classis. 1634.
3. Instructions to the elders of the English Church. 1634.
4. Report of some proceedings against John Paget, &c. 1634.
5. Allegations of scripture against baptizing certain infants. 1634.
6. Protestation about the publication of his writings. 1634.
7. Apologetical Reply to answer of W. Best. 1636.
8. Discourse about civil government in new plantations. 1642.
9. Profession of his faith at admission, &c. 1642.
10. Knowledge of Christ, in regard to types, &c. 1653.
11. Messiah come. Sermon. 1653.
12. Saints' Anchor hold in storms, &c. 1661.
13. Election Sermon, 1669.
14. God's call to his people, &c. two fast sermons. 1670.
15. Power of congregational churches, &c. (posthumous.) 1672.

He also wrote a latin letter to the famous Duræus, which the rest of the ministers of Newhaven colony subscribed. He moreover left behind him an exposition on the Canticles in a hundred sheets of small hand writing, which never was published.



## SECTION VIII.

From the settlement of Mr. Oxenbridge, 1671, to his death, 1674.

**M**R. Oxenbridge and his wife had been admitted members of First Church, on 20 March, 1670, and, on the 10th of the month following, he was unanimously chosen pastor. Whether any formality was observed in his induction into office does not appear. No memorandum of Mr. Davenport's death is to be found in the records, yet the slightest irregularity in any of the members is carefully registered.

SEC. VIII.

1671.

This is evident, that Mr. Oxenbridge was a popular preacher, and that his talents excited a lively attention to religion in the members of the congregation. During his four years' labour in the church, eighty-one persons, fifty-four of whom were females, were admitted to communion. In the same period, ninety-one boys and ninety girls were baptized.

On 10 March, 1672, there was a publick contribution made by the congregation for the use of the college at Cambridge, at the motion of the council, and beside the publick, there was a private subscription, to which many subscribed, and a like subscription was circulated in the country.

1672

SEC. VIII. The baptists were still persecuted in the colony ;  
 1673. but Allen and Oxenbridge have the merit of giving no countenance to a most unchristian practice.

Rev. John Oxenbridge was born in Daventry, Northamptonshire, England, 30 January, 1609, and educated at Oxford, where he was some time a tutor. Becoming a preacher, in 1633, he went to Bermuda, and assumed the care of a church. He returned to England, about the year 1642, and was pastor of a church in Beverly. Afterwards he became fellow of Eton college. Ejected from his living, in 1662, he travelled to Surinam ; thence to Barbadoes ; and thence, in 1669, to Newengland. He is reckoned by the historians of Boston among the most elegant writers as well, as eloquent preachers of his time. Like his great and good predecessors, he was sincerely attached to the congregational interest ; and the piety, which he cherished at heart, exhibited itself in his habitual conversation. As he was preaching the thursday lecture, 23 December, he was taken suddenly ill, forced to break off his discourse, and carried home, where he languished, till the 28th, when he died. He was buried, on 31st, with great solemnity.\*

1674.

Mr. Oxenbridge was author of the following publications.

1. Double watch word. 1661.
2. Propositions of propagating the gospel in Guiana.
3. Election Sermon, 1671.
4. Seasonable seeking of God.

\* First Church records, p. 37.

## SECTION IX.

From the death of Mr. Oxenbridge, 1674, to the settlement of Mr. Wadsworth, 1696.

**D**URING ten years, the congregation was under the sole care of Mr. Allen. SECT. IX.

1679.

In the year 1679, there was a synod called by the general court, under an apprehension, that the sins of the land loudly cried for the vengeance of heaven. The aspect of publick affairs was indeed portentous ; yet there seem not to have been any uncommon marks of national degeneracy. The ministers however obeyed the summons of the civil authority, and placed at the head of their body Mr. John Sherman and Mr. Urian Oakes. The first question, to which their attention was called, was, “ What are the sins, which have provoked the divine anger ?” The second, “ What are the means of removing it ?” The synod resulted, and communicated their result to the general court. It pointed out the sins of the times, and depicted in glowing colours the calamities of the country.\* In most churches the covenant was renewed, and in every church some

\* Mather. Hutchinson.

SECT. IX. notice was taken of the Reforming Synod, and of  
 1679. the measures, it recommended, for reviving the power and spirit of religion.

Some indeed questioned the sincerity of the leading men in the country, who were instrumental in convoking the synod. The gay and licentious court of Charles II. could hardly believe, that there were men of piety enough in Newengland, who would take the pains, which were there taken, to promote the practice of sound morality.\*

5 Aug. First Church also did not see the propriety of calling this synod. Yet its leading members could not be accused of being inimical to the interests of truth and religion. On 5 August, the following vote was passed by the church.

“ Voted, upon an order of the general court, to send elders and messengers to a synod to meet, the 24th day in September. Though we do not see light for the calling of a synod at this time ; yet, there being one called, that what good there is or may be encouraged, and evil prevented, by our testimony, we are willing to send our messengers to it ; though, whatever is there determined, we look upon and judge to be no farther binding to us, than the light of God’s words is thereby cleared to our consciences.”†

In this vote is manifest the spirit of liberty, which prevailed, in those days, and which now animates a large majority of the churches in this commonwealth. The members of First Church in particular were uniformly careful to guard the

\* Holmes.

† First Church records, p. 39.



freedom of the brethren against the encroach-  
 ments of the civil authority. This assertion will  
 be further evident by the subsequent vote, which  
 was passed on the same occasion.

SECT. IX.

1679

“ Voted by this church, 5 Aug. upon an order  
 and advice of the magistrates, that all the elders  
 of this town might jointly carry on the 5th day  
 lecture.”

“ In answer to the motion of the honoured  
 magistrates about the lecture ; though, as an in-  
 junction, we cannot concur with it, but do hum-  
 bly bear our witness against it, as apprehending  
 it tending to the infringement of church liberty ;  
 yet, if the Lord incline the hearts of the other  
 teaching officers of this town to accept the desire  
 of our officers to give their assistance with those  
 of this church, who shall be desired to carry on  
 their fifth day lecture, we are willing to accept  
 their help therein.”\*

1684

Sixty-four persons were admitted to communion,  
 in this decade of years, thirty-nine of whom were  
 females. During the same period, seventy male  
 and seventy-seven female children were baptized.

By recurring to the controversy existing in  
 the churches, consequent upon the installation of  
 Mr. Davenport, it will be seen, that no harmony  
 now subsisted between the First and Third  
 Churches. Such a state of ecclesiastical aliena-  
 tion, obviously inimical to the cause of religion,  
 was secretly lamented by the lovers of peace in  
 both societies. It is to the honour of First

1682.

\* First Church records, p. 40.



SECT. IX. Church, to whichever party it properly apper-  
1682. tained, that she was prior in her conciliatory  
overtures. The following extracts, which are  
copied exactly from her records, will show the  
formal, cautious, yet frank and generous manner,  
in which the reconciliation was begun and com-  
pleted.

“ At a meeting of the First Church in Boston,  
Apr. 23, 1682.”

“ A motion to the South Church.”

“ Question. Whether you be willing, keep-  
ing the rule in its intireness, and not revoking  
your testimony thereto, with that rule of church  
order, which we have proposed assent unto, and  
is published, as the judgment of the churches of  
Newengland platform of discipline, Chapt. 13th  
throughout, to forgive and forget all offences, as  
respecting ourselves, that, we judge, have justly  
been taken at our dissenting brethren ?

“ Supposing this pass in the Old Church.

“ Question. Will it not be expedient, that it  
be lovingly presented to the dissenting brethren,  
and that society, by a meet person or persons,  
and that they be desired to signify by writing  
their approbation of that rule, and judging any  
deviation from it to be irregular, and, if the re-  
turn be acceptable, that it will be recorded by  
both, in memory of an happy issue of that uncom-  
fortable and long breach, and the beginning of  
our desired peace, which the Lord grant. Amen.”

“ Voted in the affirmative together.”

“ Letter from the Third Church in Boston in SECT. IX.  
return to the above motion.”

1682.

“ Worshipful, reverend, and beloved.”

“ As we cannot but with grief acknowledge the great evil, that there is in divisions from the sad experience, which we have had of the dangerous influence, which the distance betwixt you and us hath had in this land, so we desire heartily to acknowledge the goodness of God in according your hearts to look towards a pacification, and with thankfulness to adopt, at your hands, the kind tender of reconciliation made unto us, to the furthering whereof God forbid that we should wilfully put any obstruction ; we rather desire to put all the hands we have to the accepting of it ; as being sensible of the truth of what is intimated, 2 Sam. ii. 26. That “ if the sword devour forever, it will be bitterness in the end.”

“ As for the condition of accommodation, which hath been presented to us from yourselves by the worshipful Samuel Howell, esq. and the Reverend Mr. Allen, we are fully and freely ready to subscribe it. And, as we have publicly and particularly in the last synod acknowledged the platform of church discipline, which was agreed upon by the elders and messengers of the churches to be for the substance of it orthodox, so we do now in particular approve what we do believe the thirteenth chapter of that book throughout to be according to rule and the mind of God in his word, respecting the case therein treated of, and that any deviation therefrom is irregular, and

SECT. IX. wherein any of our sinful infirmities have been  
 1682. grievous to all or any of your church, we ask forgiveness both of God and of yourselves ; and desire daily to pray, "What we know not teach thou us, and if we have done amiss, we will do so no more." For ourselves we are heartily content, that all things, wherein we judge ourselves to have been aggrieved cease [and] be buried in oblivion."

"The God of grace direct you to a good and happy issuing of the great affair, which you have so candidly begun, and cover all the failings of his people under the robe of Christ's righteousness, granting unto us all the blessings of the gospel of peace, and to yourselves the blessedness of peacemakers !"

"So pray, worshipful, reverend, and beloved, your brethren in the lord Jesus Christ,

SAMUEL WILLARD,

in the name and with the free  
 and full vote of the brethren  
 of the third gathered church  
 in Boston.

To the Rev. Mr. James Allen,  
 teacher, and Mr. John Wiswall,  
 ruling elder, of the first gathered church in Boston. These,

To be communicated to the church."

"Letter from the First Church in Boston to the Third."

"At a meeting of the First Church of Christ in Boston, May 7, 1682."

"Honoured, worshipful, reverend, beloved in the Lord."

"We have received your return by the worshipful Mr. John Hull, esquire, and the Reverend

Mr. Samuel Willard to our motion to hear, SECT. IX  
 wherein you express your thankful reception and 1682.  
 full concurrence with the condition of accommodation therein mentioned, which we declare to be acceptable to us. And, wherein our sinful infirmities have been grievous to you or any of your church, we mutually ask forgiveness of God and you. And desire all offences, we judge have been given us, may be forgiven and forgotten, desiring to forgive others, even as we believe God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us."

"And we further entreat, that both our motion and your return and this conclusion may be recorded with you, as it shall be with us, in memory of a happy issue of our uncomfortable dispute and the way of our peace."

"Now the God of peace, that brought again from the dead our lord Jesus Christ, that great shepherd of the sheep, by the blood of the everlasting covenant, make you perfect in every good work to do his will, working in you, that which is most well pleasing in his sight."

"So pray, honoured, reverend, beloved, your brethren in the faith and fellowship of the gospel,

JAMES ALLEN.

JOHN WISWALL."

"With the full and unanimous consent of the brethren."

Whether the growing debilities of Mr. Allen rendered a colleague necessary, whether it was his particular desire, or whether, such being the paucity of preachers in those days, the church thought itself obliged to enlist into its service

SECT IX. every minister, whose assistance might be procured ; several persons, about this time, were invited to cooperate with the incumbent teacher in feeding his flock. A Mr. Sampson Bond, in particular, on the 26th of September of this year, was invited to the office of assistant preacher ; but the vote, for some reason, was never carried into effect.

1682.

But, on 3 May, 1684, a measure of this kind was happily effectuated in regard to Rev. Joshua Moody. This gentleman was son of William Moody of Newbury, born in 1632, and was graduated at Harvard college, in 1653. In 1660, he was invited to become minister of Portsmouth, where he regularly and faithfully laboured, until, in the month of February,\* in this year, he was violently suspended from office by the tyranny of governour Cranfield. Persecuted in Portsmouth, he fled to Boston, where he was received with open arms by the members of First Church.†

\* Alden's account of Religious Societies in Portsmouth.

† Mr. Moody was invited to the situation, he held in the church, 3 May, 1684, as will appear from the following extracts from First Church records.

“ 11, 3 mo. 1684.”

“ At a meeting of the Old Church in Boston.”

“ Q. Brethren, the providence of God having brought Mr. Joshua Moody unto the town under such circumstances, as you know, whether you be willing, that, in the name of the church, he be desired, during his abode and residence here, to be constantly helpful to our teacher, Mr. James Allen, in preaching the word of God among us ?

Voted affirmatively.”

“ The providence of God having cast Rev. Mr. Joshua Moody among us by shutting the door of liberty for his ministry in his own church at Portsmouth, we do earnestly desire, that he would constantly exercise ministry with our teacher among us, until he hath



He here commenced his labours under flattering circumstances. The congregation were pleased with him, as a man, as a scholar, and as a theologian. He was so distinguished for his literary and scientific attainments, that, on the death of president Rogers, 2 July, 1684, he was elected his successor. But he preferred his situation, as assistant minister in First Church.\*

SEC. IX.

1684.

The death of Charles II. which took place, on 16 Feb. 1685, and some revolutions in the political order and customs of Massachusetts, consequent on that event, seem to have made no especial change in the ecclesiastical usage of these days. In the following year, when sir Edmund Andros arrived with a commission from king James for the government of Newengland, a more serious apprehension was indulged for the old-fashioned liberty of independent churches. Though all denominations of christians were to be tolerated, yet there was manifested a strong partiality for the church of England. There was, as yet, no episcopal church in Boston; but the liturgy was begun to be read, and the burial service to be used at the interment of the dead. The puritans were alarmed. Half a century before, the introduction of the common prayer book would not have been extremely abhorrent to the feelings of

1685.

1686.

free and open liberty to return to them again, which we express as an explanation of our former vote by our mind therein.

Voted unanimously, as attest,

JAMES ALLEN,

JOHN WISWALL."

\* Belknap's N. Hamp. i. 210. Collections Hist. Society. vi. 5.

SECT. IX.

1686.

Bostonians. But a variety of circumstances, since that period, had strengthened their antipathies to the episcopal service. Mr. Allen was one of the two thousand ministers, who, in 1662, had, in a manner, been sacrificed by the Bartholomew act. The congregational character with its growth had acquired a respectable degree of independence and hardihood; and the designs and manners of englishmen, arriving from the parent country, as they were not altogether calculated to secure confidence, began to awaken unpleasant suspicions. The presence of the excellent Moodey reminded every one of the imperious and abominable conduct of Cranfield, who had insisted, that the Lord's supper should be administered conformably to the english liturgy, and in no other way; \* and the behaviour of Randolph and Andros wore a similar aspect. In this state of things a meeting was had at Mr. Allen's, at which all the ministers and four of each congregation were present. They had the same impressions respecting the intentions of the governour. They believed, that he purposed making use of a meeting-house for the celebration of publick worship according to the liturgy; and they were agreed in opinion, that they ought to frustrate his purpose. Their counsels however were ineffectual. After viewing the three meeting-houses, the governour determined to make use of the one belonging to the Third, or Old South, society. It was in vain, that the measure

\* Alden's account of Religious Societies in Portsmouth. p. 12.

was deplored by a number of the most respectable proprietors ; that they urged their right to the edifice, and the land, on which it stood, and the cruelty of infringing on their religious immunities. The governour caballed with two or three busybodies, and ordered the sexton of the church to open the doors and ring the bell. The fellow durst not refuse obedience to the first magistrate of the colony ; and the service was performed in the meeting-house agreeably to his wishes.\* This infraction on the rights of congregationalists was perhaps never repeated ; for immediately afterwards the first episcopal society in Boston was instituted, and a church consecrated to the english establishment.†

SECT. IX.

1686.

Joseph Dudley had been president of Massachusetts ; and, although the change, which commenced with his administration, was ominous to the people, yet they had no suspicion of his religious principles.‡ His successour however, sir Edmund Andros, fully opened the eyes of the community to the snares, which were laying for them. Andros considered all congregational clergymen, as laymen. A design was now laid to establish the church of England on the ruins of congregationalism ; and, as a means of carrying this plan into effect, it was intended, that no mar-

1687.

\* Holmes' Annals. i. 469.

† In this year also, was constituted the french protestant society of christians, consisting of pious refugees, who had fled their country, on the revocation of the edict of Nantz. They reared a small brick church in school street.

‡ Hutch. i. 315.

SECT. IX. riages should be legal, which were not solemnized by an episcopal priest. This was not all. The people were threatened with the loss of their meeting-houses. But the terrour of their apprehensions was mitigated by the tolerant proclamation of James ; although there were some of the wisest and best men of the congregational order, who thought, that it smelt of popery, and was the fruit of an artful scheme. Many congregations agreed to address the king, and that of First Church among them.\*

So great were the political agitations of this period, both in England and America, that the voice of religion was, for the most part, silent. The most gloomy fears pervaded the friends of ecclesiastical liberty. They saw the press restrained, the rights of conscience violated, and the most intolerant and tyrannical doctrines openly advocated. It was on this day of darkness, when the possessions and immunities of Newengland were most seriously threatened, that the patriotick and intrepid Mather† secretly sailed for England, and with his own hand presented the complaints of the people to the king against the

1687.

6 Nov.

\* “ Voted, by unanimous consent of the brethren, that an address should be drawn up to be sent to his majesty in their names to express their humble thankfulness for his gracious declaration of liberty to our consciences, and securing our liberties.

JAMES ALLEN.”

“ Mr. \*\*\*\*\* only moved, that it might be known, what was writ. It was answered, there was a liberty for any, that desired it, to see it at my house ; which satisfied all with the vote forementioned.” First Church records, p. 45.

† Rev. Increase Mather, D. D. President of Harvard college.

government of the province.\* That providence  
 however, which has ever patronised with peculiar  
 care the principles and rights of the congrega-  
 tional churches of this country, still favoured  
 their independence on the kingdoms of this  
 world, and, in due time, dispelled their dismal  
 apprehensions.

SECT. IX.

1689.

The fiscal as well, as religious concerns of the society, were now managed entirely by members of the church ; and the pastor probably, for the most part, was present and presided. At these meetings, a variety of matters was usually agitated ; and provision for the ministry, for the stranger, for the poor, for the reformation of morals, and for the preservation of church property, was often made, at the same meeting, and sometimes almost in the same vote. In a note below the reader may find an illustration of this remark in several examples, which, whilst they develop, are honorary to the ecclesiastical character and customs of the day.†

\* Hutchinson i. 328. Belknap i. 234.

† " July 22, 1691. *Voted*, that our brethren, Mr. Jeremiah Dummer and capt. Pen Townsend do assist the deacons in recovering fourscore pounds of money, due from Mr Wharton's estate to the church for a parcel of land sold him on fort-hill." pp. 53, 99.

" *Voted*, that the deacons do sell a piece of land near Mr. Valentine's, he is about to buy of them." Ibid.

" *Voted*, that our brethren, major Hutchinson, Mr. Ezekiel Cheevers, Mr. Dummer, Mr. Prout, Mr. Deering debate and prepare an answer for the church to the inquiry of the deacons about the way to pay for the rent of Mr. Moodey's house, for the time past, and also to acquaint themselves with the church stock in the deacons' hands ; and what is given and fit to be settled on our teaching



## SECT. IX.

1689.

1690.  
24 Sep.

1692.

Among the enlightened, bold, and faithful ecclesiasticks of Newengland, in her infantile state, Joshua Moodey, who now, for several years, had adorned the pulpit of First Church, will ever stand in a conspicuous station. It is not wonderful therefore, that the society, which knew his worth, should, on the prospect of losing him, make a formal effort to detain him, as a permanent associate with their present pastor. But there was a probability, that he might return in peace to the people of his former charge. In 1692, this probability became a fact. He resumed in Portsmouth, at the earnest entreaties of his congregation, and by advice of an ecclesiastical council, the functions of an office, which he dearly loved, and to which he was supremely devoted. Yet, though he valued himself chiefly on his labours, as a divine, and though, such was his dili-

officer, to be *without variation*, unless by church consent, and that they assist about ordering the poor." Ibid.

"*Voted*, ten pound a year be allowed to our teacher for his wood at the least." Ibid.

"*Voted*, that each one will endeavour to prevent pollution of the Lord's day by any of their families, and that they will shut up shops, before sundown, on the last day of the week, and bring their children and servants within doors, God assisting." First Church records. p 53.

"26 July, 1691. *Voted*, upon debate about the poor, that they ought, as town dwellers, to have the benefit of their privilege belonging to the poor of the town under religious government. Is. xlv 23. and that the deacons only further supply them with further support, as shall be in general directed by the church, and advised by the ruling officers. Gal. vi. 10." Ibid.

3 August 1691. "*Voted*, that our teacher have an hundred and four pound, a year, that is, forty shillings, a week, and ten pound for wood, yearly, and more, as the church is able." Ibid.

gence, as a writer, that, in the course of his ministry, he composed upwards of four thousand sermons, he was not deficient in fulfilling the duties of a neighbour and friend. His integrity and goodness of heart were especially manifest in the affair of witchcraft, which was producing its miseries, about the time of his returning to Piscataqua. A Mrs. English, a well bred, amiable woman, inhabiting Salem village, was accused of witchcraft. Her husband, who was also eminent for his worth and accomplishments, visited her in prison; and therefore he too was accused and imprisoned. On some kind of pretence, they were removed to the jail in Boston, where they were visited by Mr. Moodey, who invited them to church, and who preached before them from these words, "If they persecute you in one city, flee to another." He meant, that the sacred advice, which he gave, should be liberally understood and followed. He more than assisted them in making the application. He procured the means of their escape and conveyance from Boston to Newyork; wrote letters to governour Fletcher of that place; and secured them a respectable reception and safe retreat. In the following year, Mr. and Mrs. English returned, and ever gratefully and justly ascribed their salvation from the gibbet to the intrepidity and benevolence of Mr. Moodey.\* This beneficent man was however a sufferer for his virtue. The prejudices of the times

\* Mr. Bentley's letter to Mr. Alden. See account of Religious Societies in Portsmouth, p.33.

SECT. IX. were against him for the very act of fortitude  
1692. above related ; and he went from Boston with a diminished reputation in the eyes of the multitude. But he had a better testimony in his favour, than that of publick applause, even the witness of a good conscience before God. This heavenly comforter attended him through life, and whispered sweet peace to his departing spirit. His days had been checkered, but their conclusion was serene. He was on a visit to Boston, in the summer of 1697, when he was taken with a sickness, of which he died, on the 4th of July. Dr. Cotton Mather\* preached his funeral sermon, which is preserved in the *Magnalia*, and which represents Mr. Moody, as having expired in the vigorous faith of beholding that Redeemer, whom he had served in the gospel.

Mr. Moody published a practical discourse on the benefit of communion, being the substance of several sermons,† in 1685. This was reprinted, in 1746. He also preached and published the election sermon in Massachusetts, for 1692.

From the beginning of 1685 to the close of 1692, there were admitted into First Church one hundred and ten persons, of whom ninety-two were females. In the same time, two hundred and fifteen persons had been baptized, of whom the females were one hundred and eleven.

It is natural, whilst contemplating the concerns of a single church, to glance at the condition of

\* *Magnalia* iv. 192.

† Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

the churches in general. But the period, of SECT. IX  
 which we treat, was in every view critical and im- 1692.  
 portant. The government and politicks of the  
 country were assuming new forms ; and none  
 could foresee the consequences of the change.  
 It was in this year, that the old charter of Massa-  
 chusetts gave place to the new, whence the peo-  
 ple of the colony were deprived of a portion of  
 their ancient privileges ; though the new did,  
 what the old charter did not, expressly provide  
 for liberty of conscience to all denominations of  
 christians, excepting papists. This year also was  
 marked by various calamities in the natural as  
 well, as civil and ecclesiastical history of America.  
 The floods in Delaware were destructive both of  
 property and of life. An earthquake at Jamaica  
 buried in the ruins of Portroyal two thousand  
 of its citizens ; and three thousand persons more  
 of the white inhabitants of the island were swept  
 away by the pestilence, that followed.\* In New-  
 hampshire the small pox was raging. It was  
 now too, that prodigious stories and appearances  
 of witchcraft were rife ; and the heart of sensi-  
 bility is distressed in recurring to the delusion,  
 distraction, and bloodguiltiness, of which the  
 country, especially Salem, was the scene.

On 17 July, 1693, Rev. John Bailey, an ejected 1693.  
 minister from England, was invited to join his 17 July.  
 labours with Mr. Allen's in teaching the congre-  
 gation.† This act does not seem to have passed

\* Holmes' Annals ii. 14.

† Voted, that our teacher do invite Mr. John Bayley to assist him  
 in preaching constantly, while among us, three times in a month, or  
 oftener, if he please. First Church records, p. 54.

SECT. IX. from any necessity, for Mr. Allen was not more,  
 1693. than sixty years of age ; but from a zeal in the society to avail themselves of new light, whenever it was in their power, and also from motives of charity. Here was a good man, who had been persecuted in his native country for his attachment to congregational worship ; and there was a disposition to support the reputation, which Newengland had already acquired, for being the asylum of persecuted christians.

29 Nov. On the 29th of November, in the same year, Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, who, three years before, had been graduated at Harvard college, was invited to the same office of assistant teacher, once a month.† This vote was renewed three several times ;‡ and the candidate continued to preach, as

† “ Voted, at a meeting of the church at my house, unanimously, that our teacher invite Mr. Wadsworth to assist him constantly, once a month, or any other vacancy in preaching, and any other help, he shall judge needful.” First Church records, p. 54.

1694. ‡ “ It is agreed to and voted by this church, that Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth be desired to continue his ministry among us, once a month ; and at other times, when, by the providence of God, Mr. Bailey is hindered in his work, and our teacher desires it. Hoping, that, in time, there may be such a door open for a manifestation of our mutual closing for further work and service for Christ in this church.” *Ibid.* p. 55.

2 July.

“ Voted, at a church meeting, March 19, 1694-5, that we do desire Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth to continue his labours in preaching, once a month, to us ; and at other times, as the works be needed, and he be by our teacher desired ; in order to a teaching officer among us.” *Ibid.*

“ Mr. Wadsworth his answer in writing, which was read to the church, June 23, 1695, in which he accepted their call according to this vote.” *Ibid.*

“ Voted, December 18, 1695. At a church meeting, Whereas Mr. Wadsworth, in his late answer to the church, hath expressed his willingness, (if we continued our affection to him) to the ser-



an assistant, the greater part of the time, until 8 September, 1696, when he was inducted by the neighbouring ministers with a formality, hitherto unpractised in the land.†

SECT. IX.

1696.

During the four last years, ending with 1696, eighty persons of the congregation became communicants, sixty-two of whom were females. One hundred and fifty-seven children were baptized, within the same period, of whom eighty-three were boys.

vice of Christ in this church, we do fully and sincerely declare, we continue in the same mind and affection towards him, as formerly ; and do therefore, in order to the fulfilling our desires, request him to *come to the town, and live among us* ; purposing (God willing) to proceed to his full settlement in office among us, without loss and unreasonable delay, according to the custom of the churches among us.

JAMES ALLEN." *Ibid.*

" 1656, May the 5th, voted at a church meeting, *by their own desire*, that they do unitedly desire the continuance of Mr. John Bailey in his ministry among us. And also, that the teacher, in their name, advise Mr. Wadsworth to take out his dismission from the church, he belongs to, and join with this church." *Ibid.* p. 56.

June 21, 1696, the name of Benjamin Wadsworth appears among the additions.

" August 9. Voted anew a choice of Mr. Wadsworth to [the] teaching office ; and 8th of September to be the day of ordination. Five neighbour churches to be sent to ; the North and South in Boston, Charlestown, Dorchester, and Roxbury."

" Aug. 30. Voted, that, after Mr. Wadsworth's ordination, he shall be declared a pastor to this church." The following is afterwards added in Mr Wadsworth's hand writing. " This vote was executed, 8 Sep. 1696." *Ibid.*

† " I have seen an account," says Mr. Hutchinson, " of an ordination, about the year 1640, of Mr Hooke, at Taunton, then Cohasset, in Plymouth colony, by the schoolmaster and one of the brethren, an husbandman, although Mr Wilson and Mr. Mather, two ministers, were present. But the general practice was otherwise ; and, at this day, an ordination by the lay brethren, although it might not be condemned, as invalid, yet would be generally disapproved and discountenanced." Hutch. i. 374.

## SECTION X.

From the ordination of Mr. Wadsworth, 8 September, 1696, to that of Mr. Bridge, 10 May, 1705.

SECT. X.  
1696. **F**OR a little more than a year, the congregation was under the united care of Messrs. Allen, Bailey, and Wadsworth. But this union was interrupted, near the close of the following year, by the death of Mr. Bailey, who, upwards of four years, had been an assistant to Mr. Allen, and who had endeared himself to all his hearers and acquaintances by a most fervent piety and untired beneficence.† He was born, 24 Feb. 1644, near Blackburn, in Lancashire, England, of a mother, who early dedicated him to the service of God, and carefully instructed him in a knowledge of the scriptures. He was initiated in grammar under an eminent schoolmaster, by the name of Sager, and afterwards taught the higher branches of science and literature by Dr. Harrison, whose life is drawn in the Nonconformist's Memorial.‡ At the age of twenty-two, he began his ministry in Chester, where he stayed a short time only, on account of his congregational principles, and whence he was removed by government to Lancashire jail.

† Mather's Magnalia, iii. 232. ‡ Vol. i. p. 330.

Released from prison, he travelled into Ireland, and took the charge of a congregation in Limerick. He, here laboured for fourteen years, with indefatigable industry and brilliant success. So distinguished was he by his talents and fidelity in office, as to attract the notice of people of the first rank, and to obtain the offer of a deanery and the promise of a bishoprick, on condition of conformity. But neither flattering prospects of fame and opulence, on the one hand, nor the most cruel indignities, on the other, were sufficient to divert his purpose of fulfilling the ministry, which he had received, in the manner corresponding with his notions of evangelical simplicity. Free from factious design, he maintained a straight and fearless course. Though the tenour of his life was blameless, beneficent, and amiable, so that he could go nowhere without finding friends, yet he suffered another most grievous imprisonment for his opinions ; whilst papists, in the same period and region, experienced the blessings of toleration and peace. Said he to his judges, “ If I had been drinking, gaming, and carousing with company at a tavern, I presume, my lords, I should not thus have been treated, as an offender. Must praying to God and preaching Christ with a company of christians, who are peaceable, inoffensive, and serviceable to his majesty and the government, as any of his subjects ; must this be considered, as a greater crime ? ” The recorder answered, “ We will have you to know it is a greater crime.”

## SECT. X.

1697.

To this virtuous and suffering nonconformist Newengland at length afforded a covert from the howling and destructive tempest.\* Arriving in this country, in 1683, he was freely indulged by providence, in what he deemed the best of earthly employments, the preaching of the gospel. His discourses were plain, popular, fervent ; calculated rather to compel his hearers into the way of salvation, than to exercise their understandings with his learning and logick, or their imaginations with rhetorical flowers. After the example of the pious Shepard,† he resolved, that the studying of every sermon should cost him tears ; that, before he preached it to others, he would profit by it himself ; and that, in carrying it into the pulpit, he would consider himself, as if going to give an account of his stewardship. His life was such, as showed itself influenced by these resolutions. He was rigidly watchful of his heart, conversation, and actions ; and so tender was his conscience, that sometimes the most innocent indulgences occasioned him regret and disquietude. “Three things,” he would say, “I desire to get ; patience under the calamities of life, impatience under its moral infirmities, and earnest longings for the life to come.” The scriptures were dear to him, not only as a professional study, but as a treasury of intellectual wealth to the scholar and of consolation to the pious individual. In one of his letters to a friend he writes, “How terrible are the threatenings, how precious are the prom-

\* Allen's Biographical Dictionary.

† Rev. Thomas Shepard of Cambridge.



ises, how serious are the precepts, how deep are the prophecies of this holy book !” It was evident from his manner of conducting social prayer, that his heart was in it, and that it was intended to operate, as a rule of life. His addresses to heaven frequently contained the following petition, “ May we not be of the number of them, who live without love, speak without feeling, and act without life.” With great calmness and high hopes, at the age of fifty-four, he terminated his diligent and exemplary course, on sunday, 12 December, 1697, and was interred the thursday following.\*

[SECT. X.

1697.

He published, “ Man’s chief end to glorify God,” a sermon preached at Watertown, 1689, and an address to the people at Limerick, in 1684.†

Dr. Cotton Mather preached his funeral sermon, which has supplied the principal materials to the several notices of his life. He was buried in the cemetery in Common-street, Boston, where many of his descendants have mingled their dust with his. The names of Willis and Belknap mark a number of his posterity in the female line ; and there are now living two of his grandchildren, three great-grandchildren, and several of the fifth generation.

The discipline of the church, at this time, seems to have been carefully attended to ;‡

1698.

\* First Chh. R. p. 57.

† New Eng. Biog. Dict.

‡ The following may serve, as a specimen of church censures, at that day, frequently administered. “ \*\*\*\*\* was admonished publicly, Jan. 16, 1698, for begging charity of people for some poor person or persons, as she pretended, yet keeping the most of w at she so gathered for her own use. In the management



SECT. X. though it is easy to perceive, that there was a  
 1699. gradual relaxation of the rigour formerly practised.

Ecclesiastical controversy still had its fomenters in the state ; and tracts were frequently appearing in defence of some useless relick of antiquity, or in favour of some silly innovation. The following record, in the hand writing of Mr. Allen, may contribute to show the temper of the times and the sentiments of the church. “ Feb. 10,  
 1701. 1701. Whereas there is a print lately come forth dedicated to the churches of Christ in New-england, entitled, “ Gospel order revived,” wherein are harsh expressions and unmeet against the present practice of this church and the professed way of congregational churches therein ; we do herein declare our utter dislike thereof, though we do not condemn those, who conscientiously practise otherwise. And we desire the platform of the church discipline may be reprinted, that those, who are unacquainted with it, may know it, which is the directory of our practice, *so far as it agrees with the word of God.* Voted by a very full consent.”\*

There were now probably in the church two hundred communicants. The rules of its discipline were rigid, and commonly observed with exactness. This remark applies with equal truth

of this affair, and discoursing with persons about the same, she was also guilty of sundry abominable lies. She was again restored, Aug. 28, 1698.” First Church records, p. 57.

\* First Church records, p. 59.

to all the churches then growing in Newengland. SECT. X  
 Our fathers had lost, though somewhat of their  
 learning, yet little of their puritanism. All offi-  
 1704.  
 cers of the church were ordained by prayer and  
 the imposition of hands. The distinction be-  
 tween pastors and teachers, and between elders  
 and deacons, though constantly diminishing, was  
 still regarded. Small deviations from the path of  
 christian sobriety, in the professors of religion,  
 subjected them to the admonition, if not censure  
 of the church, whilst heinous offences were pun-  
 ished with immediate excommunication.\*

During the last eight years, beginning with  
 1697, one hundred and seventy persons adjoined  
 themselves to the fellowship of the church, sixty-  
 nine of whom were men, and one hundred and  
 one women. Two hundred and ninety-two chil-  
 dren had, in the same period, been baptized; one  
 hundred and forty-eight of whom were males, and  
 one hundred and forty-four females.

Mr. Allen, through the infirmities of age, had  
 ceased preaching, in his turn, the thursday lec-

\* This, though a far more frequent punishment, in that day, than  
 this, was viewed, as one of the most terrible of evils. "A law was  
 made, in 1638, that, if any person stood excommunicated, six months,  
 they should be liable to fine, imprisonment, or banishment, as the  
 court of assistants should determine; but this law approached too  
 nigh to the ecclesiastical laws in England, so much complained of,  
 to continue long in force, and, in 1639, it was repealed. But the  
 first laws seem to deprive an excommunicated person, and also a  
 whole church, if separated from the rest, of all civil privileges, al-  
 though the platform does not suppose deprivation of civil rights and  
 authority to be the necessary consequence, yet even by the plat-  
 form all others were to "forbear to eat and drink with excommuni-  
 cated persons." Hutchinson i. 373.

SECT. X. ture,† and rarely took on him any portion of the  
1704. service of the Lord's day. In quest of his successor, the eyes of the church were turned upon Mr. Thomas Bridge, who came to Boston with his family, 17 March, 1704, and who was soon employed, as a probationer for the pastoral office.

† 29 September, 1702. "Voted, that this committee be desired to advise with those ministers, which carry on the weekly lecture in Boston, and with their advice endeavour to supply Mr. Allen's monthly turn in the said lecture." First Church records, p. 98.

## SECTION XI.

From the ordination of Mr. Bridge, 10 May, 1705, to the death of Mr. Allen, 22 September, 1710.

ON the tenth of May, 1705, Rev. Thomas Bridge† was regularly installed a colleague pastor with Messrs. Allen and Wadsworth. The church designated the mode of induction, and two of its elders united with the ministers in the imposition of hands.§

SECT. XI.

1705.

† “An answer to a vote of the First Church of Christ in Boston from Rev. Mr. Thomas Bridge, dated March 31, 1705.”

“Dearly beloved,”

“I have entertained your former invitation, and this also with fear and trembling, being sensible of the greatness of the work, and my manifold infirmities ; but I am not my own ; and my encouragement is, that the grace of Christ is sufficient for me. I have therefore solemnly, freely, and entirely resigned myself up to his dispose, and find satisfaction therein. I bless his glorious name for the acceptance, my labours have found amongst you, and looking upon it, as his work, that your hearts are inclined to give me this ca , I therefore thankfully and willingly accept it.” First Church records, p. 188.

§ At a meeting of the church, 17 April, called to make the necessary arrangements for ordination, after voting to send for the three churches in Boston, and the churches in Roxbury, Dorchester, Charlestown, and Milton, the brethren proceeded to the assignment of particular services. “Upon the question, who should give the charge to Mr. Bridge, and lay on hands, at his ordination; Resolved by vote, that our teacher Allen should give the charge,

## SECT. XI.

1709.

From 1702 to 1709 the church caused its deacons and committees no small trouble in the management of its real estate. The property in question was a house, lately occupied by Mr. William Persons, some land, which, a short time before, had been given by Mr. Richard Taylor, another parcel of land near Fort-hill, and a house and lot of land, on the south side of Summer-street, called Hollingshead's lot. At a meeting of the brethren, in September, 1702, they determined to sell the first mentioned house, with the land given them by Mr. Taylor, and to retain the Fort-hill land, which had been bargained away, but not paid for, to Mr. Richard Wharton. At a meeting, 7 April, 1709, they agreed to purchase an estate of capt. Balston, in Water-street, at the price of 300*l.* for the use of the ministry, and, at the same time, voted to make sale of Hollingshead's lot. Towards purchasing the place in Water-street, Mr. Dummer generously assisted them by advancing the specie. But the situation not answering expectation, it was voted, at a subsequent meeting, the next year, to sell it.\* At the

and have liberty to desire any ancient elders to pray before and after ; and that the Rev. Mr. Increase Mather and Mr. Samuel Willard be the persons desired to join with our elders to lay on hands."

" Thursday, 10th of May, 1705, the Rev. Mr. Thomas Bridge was ordained a pastor over the First Church of Christ in Boston. Mr. James Allen, teacher, gave him the charge, and layed on hands with elder Bridgham, and elder Cope, or Cobb." F.C.R. p. 188.

\* " At a meeting of the church, at the house of the Rev. Mr. Benjamin Wadsworth, Jan. 5th, 1709-10. On consideration of some inconveniences, attending the situation of the house lately purchased, for the use of the ministry, (at the time not foreseen,) which make it unsuitable for the occasion ; Voted, that the deacons be



same time, they voted to retain the Hollingshead's lot, and to apply the proceeds of the forementioned sale to the building of a suitable house for one of the ministers. This lot is the land, since occupied by Chauncy-place, First Church, and the adjoining block of houses in Summer-street belonging to the society ; and the house, erected in 1710, was the one, in which Drs. Chauncy and Clarke died, and which was taken down, in 1807.

SECT. XI.

1710.

22 September, 1710, died Rev. James Allen, the senior pastor of the church. He came to this country, in 1663, recommended by Mr. Goodwin. He had been a minister in England, and a sufferer by the act of uniformity, passed, 24 August, 1662. He was not violently but steadily the friend of ecclesiastical liberty, and resolutely acted on the following opinion ; “ When the governours of the church impose, as conditions of my communion, things, that are either unlawful in themselves, or that, after due examination, I verily believe, are unlawful, I am bound, in obedience to the authority of Christ, rather to desert

22 Sept.

desired, and hereby are empowered, to make sale of the said house and land, *with the land since added thereto by grant from the town*, to the best profit and advantage they can ; and to execute a sufficient deed or deeds, in due form of law, for passing and conveying the same. Voted in the affirmative. The said Jan. 5, 1709-10, That the money, which shall be produced and raised by the sale of the said house and land, be employed and laid out for the building a convenient suitable house, for the use of the ministry ; to be erected on the church land, known by the name of Hollingshead's lot. Voted in the affirmative, the same time. That the vote lately passed for the disposal of Hollingshead's lot be rescinded and made null. Voted in the affirmative, at the same time.” F. Church records, p. 109.

SECT. XI. that communion, than comply with the terms and  
 1710. conditions of it.”†

This opinion does not seem to have been adopted hastily, nor to have been variable in its influence. He was equally moderate and lenient in his concessions to others, on the score of individual freedom, as he was strenuous for the enjoyment of his own rights. He was willing to render to Cæsar all proper tribute ; but he was unwilling, that Cæsar, in the capacity of civil magistrate, should interfere in holy things. The vote of the church, passed, 5 August, 1679,‡ in regard to thursday lecture, verifies this remark. Another vote, in the same year, and likewise penned by Mr. Allen, will serve to show, that he was equally desirous of shielding the church against the power of the clergy, as against that of the civil ruler. There was then, as there commonly is in every period and portion of the church, a number of ministers, who, not contented with the power of doing good, were ambitious of pre-eminence. So synods must be called, and canons ordained for the regulation of ecclesiastical affairs, and wo to that church, which should dare to dispute the hierarchal authority. It is therefore not a little to the honour of this church, and its aged teacher, that, at so early a period, the vote alluded to should appear in the records.

Mr. Allen had enjoyed a long, virtuous, and happy life of seventy-eight years, forty-six of which, he had been a member, and forty-two, a vigilant ruler and instructor of the church.

† Scott's Christian Life.

‡ See p. 129.

His wealth gave him the power, which he used, as a good bishop, to be hospitable. SECT. XI.

He published "healthful diet," a sermon ;  
"Newengland's choicest blessings," an election  
sermon, 1679.; "serious advice to delivered  
ones ;" "man's self reflection a means to further  
his recovery from his apostasy from God ;" and  
"two practical discourses."†

1710.

His posterity have been respectable in Massachusetts, several of them having been publickly educated, and employed in offices of responsibility. One of them is, at present, a worshipper in First Church.

During the six years, ending in 1710, twenty-four men and sixty-six women had been admitted into the church. In the same space, the number of baptisms was two hundred and two, one hundred and thirteen males, and eighty-nine females.

† American Biographical Dictionary.

## SECTION XII.

From the death of Mr. Allen, 22 September, 1710, to that of Mr. Bridge, 26 September, 1715.

### SEC. XII.

1711.

3 Oct.

THE year 1711 was rendered memorable to the church by the burning of its house of worship. The fire was occasioned by the intemperance and carelessness of a strange woman. Until 1760, it was called the great fire. It consumed the townhouse, all Cornhill, and the greater part of State-street. The loss sustained, through this disastrous circumstance, by the congregation, was greatly alleviated by the kindness of the two neighbouring societies. The members of the Third Church, (Old South,) unanimously voted an offer of their church, for the mutual benefit of both congregations ; and generously stipulated a weekly provision for the pastors of the afflicted society. The votes relating to this measure were sent to Messrs. Bridge and Wadsworth, accompanied by the following letter, which enbalsms in the memory of First Church the piety, good sense, and sympathy of a Pemberton.

“ Boston, October 12, 1711.”

“ Reverend gentlemen,”

“ The church of Christ, which I stand related to, having considered the present dispersion of

your flock, through the holy hand of God, in the late desolation of their meeting-house, thought it a proper and necessary expression of their christian love and regards, to yourselves and flock, to pass the votes, a copy of which I now send you, according to their desire, which you may communicate to your church, if you think proper. The votes were passed with the greatest unanimity and readiness. It will be to the last degree pleasing to us to have the advantage of your gifts and graces in every article desired. The last vote, which invites you to administer the special ordinances with us, in your turns, we hope, will be agreeable to your church ; for sure we are, it is a point of fellowship justifiable by the first and strictest principles of these churches.”

SEC. XII.

1711.

“ The allwise God has holy ends, which he is carrying on by the present dark dispensation your people are under ; and, if it may but be serviceable to advance the spirit of unity among these churches of Christ in this town, whereby we shall be better qualified for the society of the assembly of the first born above, we shall all have reason to bless and adore the holy providence of heaven.”

“ May our gracious God speedily and peaceably repair your desolations, building up and beautifying your church with greater measures of his holy spirit ; may all under your charge be your crown and joy in the day of Christ. This, reverend brethren, shall always be the prayer of your affectionate brother,

EBENEZER PEMBERTON.”



SEC. XII.

1711.

“ At a meeting of the church in the south part of Boston, October 7th, it was voted, that the Rev. Mr. Bridge and Mr. Wadsworth, pastors of the First Church in Boston, be desired, during the present dispersion of their flock, to carry on alternately one half of the work of preaching in this congregation.”

“ That the deacons of this church make the same weekly allowance to them for this service, that they do to our own pastor.”

“ That the Rev. Mr. Bridge and Mr. Wadsworth be desired also to take their turns in the administration of baptism and the Lord’s supper with us.

EBENEZER PEMBERTON.”\*

The following letter, of the same date and purport, from the Fourth Church, (Brattle street,) was communicated, at the same time.

“ Boston, October 12, 1711.”

“ Reverend sirs,”

“ I think it meet to acquaint you, that, having stayed our church, the last evening, after the publick exercises of worship, there past unanimously the following votes.”

“ That yourselves be desired, under the present awful Providence, and till it shall please God, that your meeting-house be rebuilt, statedly and alternately to be and assist with us in the carrying on the worship of God among us.”

“ That, out of the contribution weekly collected, three pounds be paid you, every week.”

\* First Church records, p. 102.

“ That you be desired, if it may be, for the time you continue with us, to join with us in an equal administration of all ordinances, in particular baptism and the Lord’s supper.”

SEC. XII.

1711.

“ Sirs, these our desires we accompany with our thankful acknowledgements of that good spirit of brotherly affection, wherein you have come among us, and wherewith you have so kindly accepted our bounden christian respects. We ask a further interest in your love and prayers, and hope, it will please God to make your presence and labours with us, from time to time, abundantly serviceable to his own glory, and our spiritual good.”

“ Reverend sirs, your unworthy brother in the ministry of Christ,

BENJAMIN COLMAN.”

“ Reverend Mr. Thomas Bridge,  
and Benjamin Wadsworth, pastors  
of the First Church in Boston.”

Due notice was taken of these expressions of christian sympathy ;\* but whether in the Third or Fourth Church the congregation mostly worshipped is unknown. Mr. Wadsworth preached, the sunday after the conflagration, in the Third Church ; and the sermon delivered, together with the one last preached in the church consumed, and the first preached in the Old Brick, were published in a small volume, a copy of which is in the Theological Library.

\* “ Whereupon the First Church of Christ in Boston, Oct. 12, 1711, voted, that our reverend elders be desired, in the name of his church, to render thanks to the Rev. Mr Pemberton and Mr. Colman and to their churches for their kind respects to us in their several letters of this date.” First Church records, p. 108.

## SEC. XII.

1712.

During their scattered condition, the church were not inattentive to the rules of ecclesiastical order, and the means of improvement. The liberal christian will read with pleasure the subsequent extracts, and will probably discover in them the seeds of a liberality, which, in regard to the admission of church members, has ever since been spreading and maturing in the churches of Massachusetts.

“ At a church meeting, 29 Feb. 1711-12, the following proposals were voted at the school-house.

“ First Church in Boston proposed to the reverend elders,

“ That, when persons desire admission into the church, they be examined of the nature of a church, of the institution of ordinances and officers, of the authority and rule given by Christ to the elders, of the duty and privilege of the brotherhood.

“ This is to be summarily communicated to the church, together with the relation and belief of the party desiring admission.

“ That no objection be made to the receiving of any person professing faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, repentance of sin, and having a measure of scriptural knowledge of the order and government appointed by Christ in his church ; although he have not the persuasion, which others possibly may profess, about some particulars, that are matter of dispute among learned, pious, and holy men.”

From the moment, in which the old meeting-house was burned, the church was diligently em-

ployed in making preparations for a new edifice. SEC. XII.

25 June, 1712, was founded the fabrick of the Old Brick ; and, on 3 May, of the succeeding year, it was appropriated to religious use.† There appears to have been no particular solemnity observed, on entering the church, except on the Lord's day ; but the records of First Church contain a particular account of a day, religiously set apart to the dedication of the Fifth Church, (New North,) which was first entered, as a house of worship, 5 April, 1714.

1713.

On 26 September, 1715, Rev. Thomas Bridge, senior pastor of the church, died. He was in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and the eleventh of his ministry in this church. He was born at Hackney, England ; was regularly educated ; became first a merchant, and afterwards a pious and useful minister of religion.‡ He travelled first into the Mediterranean ; thence to America ; laboriously preached at several of the West India islands ; whence he came to Boston, and was invited to this church. He is represented, as remarkable for his sincerity, meekness, and humility. He was not easily excited ; yet his patriotism was warm ; and he omitted no opportunity to manifest his love for the civil and religious liber-

1715.

† The only durable relick of the Old Brick is deposited in First Church Vestry. It is a thick piece of slate stone, about two feet long, which was taken from under a window, in the second story, on the south side of the church. It contains in two lines the following record.

BURND TO ASHES OCTOBr 3. 1711.

REBUILDING June 25th 1712.

‡ Eliot's Biog.

SEC. XII. ties of the country. In the unsuccessful expedition, which, in 1707, was made against Portroyal, he was invited to accompany the commissioners. 5 June, the church voted its consent to his compliance. He sailed from Boston, 5 July, and returned, on the 1st of September following.

1715.

Mr. Bridge was upright in his dealings, of kind affections, devout in his habits, and irreproachable in his morals.\* Prayer was his gift, and the bible his library ; and so sincere and strong were his expressions of humility, that he frequently kindled a blush on the cheek of the forward young man, and shamed the ambitious out of their love of distinction. He received the degree of master of arts, in 1712, from Harvard college ; and his name is affixed to the class, which was graduated, in 1675. Like his predecessors, Norton, Davenport, and Oxenbridge, he made a sudden exit from the scene of his labours, leaving behind him a name, which is better than precious ointment, and four publications, evincing his concern for the cause of righteousness and the welfare of mankind. 1. "The mind at ease." 2. "What faith can do." 3. "Jethro's counsel." 4. "A sermon before the artillery company." Mr. Bridge's funeral sermon was preached by Dr. Colman ; his remains were treated with particular respect ; and his surviving family, for a long time, receiv-

\* Allen's Biography.



ed the sympathies and support of a generous congregation.†

SEC. XII.

1715.

In the five years, ending with 1715, one hundred and forty-six persons were admitted to communion, ninety-six of whom were females. During the same time, eighty-six boys and ninety-six girls were publickly baptized.

† “The Rev. Mr. Thomas Bridge, a pastor of the Old Church in Boston, died on Sep. 26, 1715, and was buried in Mr. Cotton’s tomb, Sept. 29, 1715.”

“*Memorandum.* The church, having voted to defray the charge of the Rev. Mr. Bridge’s funeral, chose to endeavour it by a publick contribution, on the Lord’s day. This was notified, on Oct. 2, that the contribution aforesaid would be expected, on the next sabbath. Accordingly, on the next sabbath, viz. Oct. 9, the contribution was, as one of the deacons told me, one hundred and ten pounds, five shillings and a penny. The funeral charges came to about 104*l.*”

“*Memorandum.* The committee aforesaid ordered Mrs. Bridge, our pastor’s relict, forty shillings per week out of the contribution box, for the present, till they should give further order.” First Church records, p. 106.

## SECTION XIII.

From the death of Mr. Bridge, 26 September, 1715, to the settlement of Mr. Chauncy, 25 October, 1727.

SEC. XIII. **F**EARLY in the year 1717, Mr. Thomas Foxcroft  
1717. of Cambridge was invited to preach to the society ; and the universal approbation, he obtained, placed him a colleague with the surviving pastor, on the 20th of November, in the same year. As a specimen of the composition of a popular young preacher of that day, I have preserved in a note a copy of Mr. Foxcroft's answer\* to the church accepting their invitation to settlement.

\* " Cambridge, March 23, 1717.

" To the Old or First Church in Boston.

" Reverend, honourable, and beloved,

" It hath pleased the great Head of the church (who turneth the hearts of his people, as the rivers of waters, and doth wondrous things, which none can search out the reasons of,) to incline you to make choice of so unfit a person, as myself, to settle in the office of a pastor to this flock. I am deeply sensible, how unworthy I am of the dignity, how every way unequal to the duties of this holy calling, which is of God excellent and difficult. As indeed who are sufficient of these things of themselves ? But our sufficiency is of God. Humbly therefore depending upon the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, without whom we can do nothing, as having good hope in that sweet promise, Matt. xxviii. 20. " Lo, I am with you alway, even to the end of the world." I do now with gratitude and humility accept your call, as the voice of God ; and do solemnly promise and resolve, if the Lord permit, and account me worthy, putting me into the ministry, to make it the grand study and employment of my life to preach the unsearchable riches of

As is customary, after the settling of a new pastor, the church had a meeting, in December, elected some new officers, and passed some votes respecting their fiscal concerns.†

SEC. XIII.  
1717.

The independence of congregational churches in Boston has been maintained from the beginning ; and perhaps their freedom will best be

Christ unto you, according to the commandment of the everlasting gospel, for the obedience of faith, for the perfecting of the saints, for the edifying of the body of Christ, so long as it shall please God to continue me among you ; that ye might know the love, which I have more abundantly to you all.

And now, under a just view of the importance, weight, and difficulty of the awful work of watching for souls, and feeding the flock of Christ, I beseech you, brethren, that ye strive together with me, in your prayers to God for me, that those gifts and graces may be multiplied upon me, in the diligent exercise whereof I may approve myself a ready scribe, well instructed for the kingdom of God, and furnished to every good work ; that I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed ; that I may find mercy to be faithful to the interest of God's glory, and be wise to win souls ; that my service may be accepted of the saints, and that I may be unto God a sweet savour in Christ, that so I may give up my account with joy to the chief shepherd at his appearing ; and the Lord grant unto us all, that we may find mercy of the Lord in that day.

I am your affectionate

friend and servant,

THOMAS FOXCROFT."

† " At a church meeting, at the meeting-house.

" Voted, that the deacons, for the time being, be desired exactly to record, in a book or books, procured at the charge of the church, what they receive, from time to time, in their weekly and monthly contributions ; and also what they shall receive, at any time, as legacies or donations to the church ; and that they shall also as plainly record in said books, how much and to whom they disburse or pay, from time to time ; and also how much and to whom of the poor of the church they shall give, as there is occasion, out of the monthly contribution ; that so, whenever the church shall see meet to acquaint themselves with these accounts, the state of their temporal affairs may the more clearly and easily appear unto them." First Church records, p. 108.

SEC. XIII. preserved by keeping clear of entangling alliances. There is however a partial coalescence between churches, which rather promotes, than hinders, the general objects of religious association. Some congregations, from local proximity, affinity of theological opinions, or other circumstances, are more likely to associate, than others ; but such associations have no effect on the discipline or interior regulations of individual societies. Thus there is a certain indefinable union among all the congregational churches in the metropolis. Their ministers are united in holding an association at each others' houses, every other monday, in supporting a Theological Library,† in preaching a weekly lecture, and a quarterly charity lecture ; and the several congregations tacitly agree in attending these lectures and favouring these institutions. The First Church is united with the Fourth, the Second with the Fifth, and the Sixth with the Seventh, in support of a monthly lecture, attended commonly, on the friday, immediately preceding the sunday, on which is celebrated the Lord's supper. The union, for this purpose, between the First and Fourth churches commenced, in the beginning of the year 1720.† The lecture is

† This institution, which was founded, 1 June, 1807, invites however, and receives, subscriptions from both clergy and laity of all denominations.

† “ The sacrament of the Lord's supper being administered on the first Lord's day of every month, as in our old church, so in that neighbouring one, of which the Rev. Mr. Colman and Cooper are pastors ; their church, by a letter dated January 18, 1719, made a motion to ours, that a lecture, on every friday, in the afternoon

attended in Brattle-street, and preached by the pastors of the two congregations alternately. SEC. XIII.

1720.

There is indeed no express warrant for such an exercise in the christian scriptures ; and some have doubted the propriety of upholding the custom. They have alleged, that it tends to bring the ordinance of preaching into contempt with some, by making it too frequent, and that its effect is injurious to others, by inducing a belief, that some unusual, peculiar preparation is necessary for commemorating the death of our Saviour. But it ought to be remembered, that an attendance on this lecture is by no means considered an indispensable requisite for communion, on the following sunday ; and that any religious institution, which brings people voluntarily together, naturally expands the mind, and can hardly be unfavourable to the progress of charity. In the case just mentioned, the effect of the lecture has been happy. It has contributed to the harmony of both the ministers and brethren of the two societies.†

In 1725, Mr. Wadsworth was chosen president of Harvard college. His flock parted with him reluctantly, yet amicably, not without deliberation and prayer, yet without the formality of a

1725.

might be attended, in their meeting-house, by these two churches, and the lecture sermons be preached by the ministers of both churches. This letter was read with us, on the Lord's day, Feb. 7, 1719-20, and, after a week's time for consideration, our church, by a (silent) vote, complied with the motion they made to us.

“ This vote, was on February 14, 1719-20.” *First Church Records*, p. 110.

† Dr. Thacher's Century Discourse.



SEC. XIII. dismissing council. He continued to preach to them in his turn, for some little time, after he was installed at Cambridge ; ever afterwards enjoyed their friendship ; and, at his death, left a legacy for the poor of the church.†

1725.

President Wadsworth was born at Milton, in 1669, and graduated at Harvard college, in 1690. He was the first minister of this church educated at the neighbouring university. He was the son of capt. Samuel Wadsworth, who distinguished himself by his courage, and, in 1676, fell a victim to the Indian war. The president, with filial piety, erected a monument to the bravery of his father and his valiant soldiers.\*

The powers of president Wadsworth's mind were rather strong, than brilliant ; and his manners rather grave, than animated. His memory was uncommonly retentive. He could easily quote almost any verse in the bible, without recurring to the page ; though he wrote his sermons with care, he always delivered them memoriter. In the office of president of the college, he wanted not prudence and fidelity ; but, in bodily stature and dignity of deportment, he was inferiour to his predecessor Leverett ; nor were his science and literature so various and conspicuous, as preeminently to distinguish him, as the head of the university. Yet he was a practical, useful character. As a preacher, he was perspicuous and solemn ; as a pastor, watchful and exemplary ; and, as a christian, so liberal and exact in his charities,

† F.C. records, p. 412.

\* Holmes's Annals. i. 429.

as to give to the poor a tenth part of his income. SEC. XIII.  
 He was author of several publications.\*

1725.

This gentleman was dismissed from his pastoral office, 16 June, 1725, and from the labours of human life, 12 March, 1737, in the 68th year of

- \* 1. An artillery election sermon, 1700.
2. Exhortations to piety, 1702.
3. Three sermons, entitled, Men worse in their carriage to God, than one another; Psalms sung with grace in the heart; A pious tongue an enriching treasure, 1706.
4. Discourses on the day of judgment, 1709.
5. A sermon on assembling at the house of God, 1710.
6. The well-ordered family, 1712.
7. Five sermons, viz. The first, on 30 September, 1711, from Psalm lxxiii. 1. being the last delivered in the old meeting-house, which was burnt, 2 October, 1711. The second, from Lamentations iii. 31. at the south meeting-house in Boston, 7 October, 1711, being the first Lord's day after the fire. The third, on 18 December, 1711, from Psalm xxvi. 8. being a fast kept by the Old Church, occasioned by the burning of their meeting-house. The fourth, on 6 May, 1713, from Hag. ii. 9, being the first in the Brick meeting-house, where the former was burnt. The fifth, on 12 November, 1713, from Zech. iv. 7. A thanksgiving sermon, for God's goodness, in providing a new meeting-house for the Old Church; with a preface, giving some account of the fire, 2 October, 1711.
8. Explanation of the assembly's catechism, 1714.
9. Invitation to the gospel feast, in eleven sermons, 12mo. Saint's prayer to escape temptation; a discourse on the death of Isaac Addington, 1715.
10. Election sermon, 1716.
11. Twelve single sermons on various subjects, 1717.
12. Zeal against flagrant wickedness; essay for spreading the gospel into ignorant places, 1718.
13. Christ's fan in his hand; Imitation of Christ, a christian duty, 1722.
14. A dialogue between a minister and his neighbour, on the Lord's supper, 1724.
15. It is honourable not shameful to suffer, 1725.
16. The benefits of a good, and the mischiefs of an evil conscience, in fourteen sermons; None but the righteous saved, 1725.

SEC. XIII. his age. He was minister of this church, twenty-nine  
 1725. years, and twelve, a president of the university.

17 Aug. Upon the removal of president Wadsworth to Cambridge, a fast was immediately kept by the congregation, and measures were taken to supply the vacancy with another pastor. 12 June, 1727, a choice was made. Of one hundred and ten votes given in for a minister, three were scattered, Mr. Welsted had forty-three, and sixty-four were for Mr. Chauncy, who was declared duly chosen, and who was ordained, on the 25th of October following.\* At a meeting, on the second of that month, the brethren of the church passed a number of votes, preparatory to the ordination, selected their council, and assigned the principal parts of the consecrating service.

1727. During the twelve years, ending with 1727, two hundred and forty-one persons had been admitted into the church, one hundred and fifty-six of whom were females. In the same time, four hundred and seventy-four children were baptized, two hundred and fifty-eight of whom were males.

\* "October 25, 1727, Mr. Chauncy was accordingly ordained. Mr. Wadsworth being sick, and not at the ordination, Mr. Foxcroft began with prayer. Mr. Chauncy preached the sermon from Matt. xxviii. 20. Mr. Thacher prayed after the sermon. Mr. Colman presided, as moderator, in taking the votes, and giving the charge; praying both before and after. Dr. Mather gave the fellowship of the churches." First Church records, 122.

## SECTION XIV.

From the settlement of Mr. Chauncy, 25 October, 1727, to the death of Mr. Foxcroft, 18 June, 1769.

WE have now arrived at a memorable period in the history of First Church. During forty-two years, the present pastors lived in great harmony with each other and their flock ; and, whoever has heard of the Old Brick Church in Boston, will find it associated, in his memory, with the names of Foxcroft and Chauncy. The affairs of the church were now in a flourishing condition. She saw her elder pastor unrivalled in popularity, as a preacher, and already marked, in his young colleague, the dawn of those brilliant powers, which were destined to enlighten and improve the age.

SEC. XIV.  
1728.

It was during the joint ministry of these two men, that the church of England made her most strenuous exertions to introduce the forms of episcopacy into the provinces of Newengland. These attempts were resolutely resisted by the divines of this metropolis, who, in the success of such measures, apprehended an injury to that religious liberty, for which their fathers had abandoned their native country, and encountered the

SEC. XIV. difficulties of planting this western wilderness.

1729.

The ministers of First Church were strongly in this sentiment. The elder of them, Mr. Foxcroft, had been educated in the episcopal church, and was designed for her service. But, from a thorough examination of the principles of christianity, and a research into ecclesiastical history, he became a sincere convert to congregationalism. It was the active influence of this settled opinion, that drew from Mr. Foxcroft, in 1729, a publication, entitled, “ the ruling and ordaining power of congregational bishops, or presbyters, defended.” This treatise was an answer to Barclay’s *Persuasive*, and was written in so masterly a manner, as to be itself unanswerable. What Mr. Foxcroft was, from principle, Mr. Chauncy was from principle, and from constitution, and from the prejudices of education. His early notions of civil liberty, his theological studies and sentiments, and all the habits of his great mind were opposed to prelatical establishments. Accordingly in the episcopal disputes, as we shall see, which were agitated between 1760 and 1770, he bore a part, that does equal honour to his patriotism and his learning.

1730.

During the united ministry of Foxcroft and Chauncy, several improvements took place in the management of both the spiritual and fiscal concerns of the society. Until now, the church, that is, the male communicants, were alone concerned in fixing the ministers’ salaries, and, in short, in making all pecuniary appropriations. But, in this year, it was voted, that, “ whenever there is occa-



sion for money to be raised, the congregation be notified to meet with the church in the doing of it." SEC. XIV.

1730.

About this time, the question, relative to the enlargement of baptism, which was agitated, in the year sixteen hundred sixty-two, was again the subject of conversation among the clergy, and of discussion in their churches. At a meeting of First Church, 3 March, the fifth proposition of the result of the synod, in the year abovementioned, was voted to be a rule in the church.\* At the same time also, was renewed a vote of the church, which passed in January, one thousand six hundred fifty-seven, relative to the discipline to be exercised over the children of church members. 1731.

The same subject, in regard to the terms of admitting members, which was considered, in 1712, again solicited the attention of the brethren. Relations of what are called "experiences" were still continued in the church; but the number of those, who disapproved the practice, was greater, than that of its advocates. Accordingly the following question was proposed, 9 June, 1730, which, though not decided immediately, was finally passed in the affirmative. "Whether, in case any particular persons appearing, in a judgment of charity, visible saints, and offering to join with this church in full communion, do seriously scruple the practice of making a relation, as usual at admissions, whether, in such case, it be your mind, that persons shall be left to their christian liberty, and admitted without obliging them to comply with the said custom; provided always,

\* See Sect. IV. p. 92.

SEC. XIV. that they do make a publick confession of their  
 1730. faith or belief, and that the elders do declare their having received satisfaction by private examination, as to their knowledge and experiences in religion?"

The salary of the ministers, for several years previous to this period, had been 4*l.* 10*s.* a week,  
 1731. a sum, which was found inadequate to the purpose. Towards the close of this year, several attempts were made to increase it, and, in the beginning of 1732, it was raised to 6*l.*

It was now, that the time of beginning divine service in the afternoon, on sundays, was altered from 2 to 3 o'clock. This measure, which originated in First Church, was concurred in by the churches in the south part of the town.

It was the custom, in the period of which we are writing, for each church in the government to express, in some way, its sense of the doings of every other church. Thus the records of this  
 1732. church contain a particular account of its attention to a pamphlet, written concerning an ecclesiastical dispute at Salem, of so little notoriety, as not to be thought worthy of mention by the historian of that town.\*

\* "*Lord's day evening, March 2, 1734-5.* The brethren of the church were stayed, and received information of a printed pamphlet, entitled, *A faithful narrative of the proceedings of the ecclesiastical council convened at Salem, in 1734; occasioned by the scandalous divisions in the first church in that town. Which pamphlet was sent, superscribed to the pastors, to be communicated by a committee of the said council, appointed to prepare a narrative of their proceedings for the press, and, when printed, to communicate the same to the several congregational churches in the province. The matter was left under consideration, for a week.*"

"*Lord's-day evening, March 9.* The brethren of the church, being stayed after the publick worship, Voted, That they would meet,

It had hitherto also been the usage in this church SEC. XIV.  
to hold the seats and pews, for the most part, in 1737.

on the next wednesday se'ennight, at 2 o'clock, p. m. in the meeting-house, to have the abovesaid narrative communicated."

"*Wednesday, March 9, 1734-5, 2 o'clock, p. m.* The church met in the meeting-house. Then we proceeded upon the business of the meeting, the communicating of the narrative of the late council at Salem. One of the pastors read out of it, one hour, and the other, for another hour. Then, the weather being very cold, a motion was made, that we should adjourn to Mr. Jonathan Williams's house, which was voted. And, the brethren immediately repairing thither, we finished reading of the book abovesaid."

"Upon which, among other matters discoursed, a considerable debate was had on the propriety of this church's accepting and approving the result of a council, in which we were not represented by our delegates, nor so much, as invited to be present."

"Then, upon the motion made by sundry, it was Voted, that the affair should lie under consideration; and the meeting was, by vote, adjourned to the first wednesday, in May next, being the 7th day of the month, at 3 o'clock, p. m. in the meeting-house.

Entered pr. T. FOXCROFT."

"*Wednesday, May 7, 1735.* The church met, by adjournment, upon the Salem affair; but there being but a very small appearance of the brethren, by reason of a town-meeting, this day, it was thought proper to adjourn for some considerable time, by reason of the late surprising turn of affairs in Salem, the aggrieved brethren having claimed to be the majority, and declared themselves to be the first church in Salem. Therefore it was Voted, that this meeting be adjourned to the last wednesday, in June next, being the 25th day, at 3 o'clock, p. m."

"*June 25.* The church met, and, there being but a thin appearance of the brethren, they adjourned to the next sabbath evening, in order to urge and procure a more general attendance."

"*Sabbath evening, June 29.* Church stayed, and adjourned, till to-morrow, at 10 o'clock, a. m."

"*June 30, a. m.* The brethren came together more generally, (between fifty and sixty being present,) and, after a long debate upon the objection, made at the first meeting, and now renewed, Voted, Not to proceed any further, in the consideration of the Salem affair, by a great majority. The question put both affirmatively and negatively." First Church records, pp. 134, 135.

Thus seven meetings of the church were had for the discussion of a question, in which no member had any peculiar concern.

SEC. XIV. common, and to choose a committee, every few  
 1737. years, to seat the meeting-house. This, I believe, is still the practice in most of the religious societies on Connecticut river.\*

1762. Pulpit services were not formerly so frequently exchanged among ministers in the Newengland churches, as at the present day, nor so frequently practised by the united presbyters of this church, as by those, who had no colleagues in the pastoral care. As they advanced in years however, they gladly admitted the occasional labours of other clergymen, not only in the desk, but in the administration of ordinances ; yet, it seems, the measure was so novel, that it was thought expedient to sanction its propriety by a vote of the church.†

\* “ 1691. Nov. 24. Voted, that our brother Parsons, and Sampson Stoddard, and brother Brown do exercise church power in seating persons in the meeting-house.”

“ April 2, 1713 At a meeting of the church, Voted, that Dr. Cook, colonel Hutchinson, Mr. Addington, Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson, colonel Townsend, Mr. Welsteed, Mr. Jeremiah Allen, Mr. Gouch, be seaters of the new meeting-house, now built, and that it be left to their prudence and discretion to dispose of seats and pews, as, they may think, will be most for the good and welfare of the church and congregation.” First Chh. R. p. 104.

† “ May 2, 1762. After the administration of the ordinance of the supper, this day, I proposed it to the church, in consideration of the Rev. Mr. Foxcroft’s being taken off from his publick labours, for the present, and in order to prevent inconveniences, in case of my being indisposed, or occasionally from home, on the Lord’s day, that any of our ordained ministers, in regular standing, might, without offence, be desired, agreeably to the platform and the usage of other churches of the congregational denomination in this province, as there was need of it, to administer either of the sacraments, when the church is assembled for publick worship ; Voted, without any difficulty or objection, that this proposal be complied with, and that other pastors, in regular standing, may, as there is need of it, administer the Lord’s supper to this church, or baptism to their children. CHARLES CHAUNCY.” F.C. Rec.



On 18 June, 1769, died Rev. Thomas Fox-SEC. XIV.  
croft, senior pastor of the church. He had lived, 1769.  
almost seventy-three years, fifty-two of which he  
had spent in the ministry. He was critically  
skilled in the greek language, a theologian of  
some excellence, and the author of many sermons  
in print. The following is the most correct list  
of his publications, I have been able to obtain.

1. A sermon at his own ordination, 1718.
2. A sermon on kindness, 1720.
3. A sermon on the death of his mother, 1721.
4. A sermon on the death of Mr. John Corey, 1722.
5. A sermon on the death of dame Bridget Usher, 1723.
6. A sermon on the death of George I. 1727.
7. A sermon on the death of Hon. Penn Townsend.
8. A sermon on the death of Rev. William Waldron.
9. A sermon on the death of Rev. John Williams, 1729.
10. A sermon on the death of Thomas Blowers.
11. A sermon on the death of Benjamin Wadsworth, 1737.
12. Essay on the state of the dead, 1722.
13. The day of a godly man's death better, &c. 1722.
14. Duty of the godly to be intercessors, &c.
15. Two sermons showing how to begin the year, &c.
16. God's face set against an incorrigible people, 1724.
17. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. John Lowell, 1726.
18. Discourse preparatory to the choice of a minister, 1727.
19. A discourse on death.
20. A discourse on the earthquake.
21. A discourse at the ordination of Rev. John Taylor, 1728.
22. Answer to Mr. T. Barclay's Persuasive, &c. 1729.
23. Century sermon containing history, observations, &c.  
1730.
24. Pleas of gospel impenitents refuted.
25. Divine right of deacons, 1731.
26. Sermon to a young woman, under sentence of death, 1733.
27. A sermon occasioned by the labours and visits of  
Mr. Whitfield, 1740.



- SEC. XIV. 28. A sermon at a private family meeting, 1742.  
 29. An apology for Mr. Whitfield, 1745.  
 1769. 30. Saints' united confession in despair of their own  
 righteousness, 1750.  
 31. Like precious faith obtained by all, &c. 1756.  
 32. Thanksgiving sermon for the conquest of Canada,  
 1760.

In the early part of life, Mr. Foxcroft was a captivating preacher ; but, in the year 1736, he received a paralytick shock, which obscured the lustre of those talents, which, until then, had procured him great and merited applause. He sustained the character of an eminent christian, and religiously performed the duties of the various stations, which he filled.

During these forty-two years, one hundred and eighty-one persons had been admitted members of the church, fifty-three of whom were males, and one hundred and twenty-eight females. In the same time, one thousand and forty-nine children were baptized, five hundred and forty-four of whom were males, and five hundred and five were females.

Other transactions of the church in this period might here be penned ; but it is needless to multiply records, which have no peculiar nor striking characteristic. I therefore drop the chain of ecclesiastical notices, relating to the time of Foxcroft and Chauncy, and enter on a review of the writings, life, and character of the latter.

## SECTION XV.

From the death of Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, 18 June, 1769, to the settlement of Rev. John Clarke, 8 July, 1778.\*

WHERE facts are merely to be recorded, or a concatenation of events related, the plodding pen of industry may execute the task. But fully to develop the powers of a great man, to trace the manner of their edification, and to note at once, sufficiently and impartially, their beneficial influences on the community is an arduous and difficult employment. It is therefore with a trembling hand, that I undertake to sketch the eminent and various merits of the late reverend and learned doctor Chauncy. That this article of biography should not have been finished, as it was begun, by the colleague, whom he elected and loved, my immediate predecessor, I have ever considered a misfortune to the cause of letters and of rational christianity. It is vain however to deplore irremediable evils. I shall now use the best means, I can command, to supply this deficiency, and trust to the good will of my friends, and the superiour diligence of my successours, to correct my mistakes.

SEC. XV.

The subject of this memoir was born at Boston, 1 January, 1705. He was son of Mr. Charles

\* This section, as will be seen, the author did not live to complete. *Ed.*

SEC. XV. Chauncy, a merchant from England, who was  
1730. the youngest child of Rev. Isaac Chauncy, pastor of a church in London, who was the eldest of six sons of the venerable and reverend Charles Chauncy, formerly president of Harvard college. At the age of seven years, Mr. Chauncy lost his father. Into whose care he then fell, and by whom he was prepared for the university, I have never been able to learn. He entered college, at twelve, and became master of arts, at nineteen years old. But where he resided, and under whose direction he studied, during the time of his leaving college, until he became a preacher, is also unknown.

The time and manner of his induction to the pastoral office have already been noted. Until some time after his ordination, nothing occurred of an extraordinary nature. His early efforts, as a preacher, seem to have excited nothing like rapture in the breasts of his friends, or extreme aversion in the minds of his dissentients.

The first publication of Mr. Chauncy was made, in the fourth year after his settlement. It is on the death of Mrs. Sarah Byefield, which happened, 21 December, 1730. It is prefaced, after the custom of those days, by a dedication of the author to the honourable and bereaved consort, and is founded on that passage in James iv. 14. "For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth, for a little time, and then vanisheth away." After a short and easy introduction, the author proposes to consider, first, the representation, that is here given us of man's life ;

and, secondly, to show, what influence such a representation ought to have upon us. This clear and happy division of his subject is clearly and happily discussed. There appears no peculiar aptitude in the choice of the text, as the deceased was neither young nor very old. Nor is there any ease of transition between the body of the sermon and the character suffixed. These faults however, if such they may be called, are expiated by the variety of useful reflections, which enrich the discourse.

SEC. XV.

1732.

Early in the year 1732, Mr. Chauncy gave another sermon to the publick, on the subject of early piety, occasioned by the death of Miss Elizabeth Price, a young lady of seventeen years old. The text is Psalm cxix. 9. "Wherewith shall a young man cleanse his way? By taking heed thereto, according to thy word." A squeamish critick might be as dissatisfied with the choice of his text, as with that of the preceding. But whoever looks for a curious taste, in this writer, respecting words, will surely be disappointed. It was the intention of the preacher to recommend early piety, and to show, that the holy scriptures are the best guide to the performance of that duty. Contrary to the usual manner of funeral discourses, he delineates the character of the deceased under the first head of the discourse.

In the following year, our author published another funeral sermon, occasioned by the death of his friend, judge Byfield. Like his performances in general, it is strongly marked by sincerity.

SEC. XV.

1753

ty, piety, and good sense ; but it displays no efforts at fine writing, or an attempt to improve the style of compositions, at that time fashionable. The fact is, Mr. Chauncy had no taste for rhetorical studies. So little versed in poetry was he, that he is said to have wished, somebody would translate the *Paradise Lost* of Milton into prose, that he might understand it. He loved nature, simplicity, and truth, and looked upon the art of rhetorick, rather as an inflamer of the passions and a perverter of reason, than as an instrument of good to mankind. His aversion indeed was so rooted towards the noisy and foaming fanaticks of his time, and his attachment so strong to Taylor, Tillotson, and writers of that stamp, that, in the company of intimate friends, as is reported of him, he would sometimes beseech God never to make him an orator. One of his acquaintances, now living, hearing this report, remarked, that his prayer was unequivocally granted. Yet I have been informed, by one of his hearers, who is an excellent judge of sermons, that Dr. Chauncy was by no means an indifferent speaker, that his emphases were always laid with propriety, often with happy effect ; and that his general manner was that of a plain, earnest preacher, solicitous for the success of his labours. He ordinarily entered on his task, whether of composing or delivery, apparently without much nerve, as a labourer commences his daily toil, uttering a deal of common truths in a common way. But he had always a design, which he kept clearly



and steadily in view, until it was prudently and thoroughly executed. SECT. XV.

1734.

In 1734, he preached before the ancient and honourable artillery company. The sermon is preserved in the library of the Historical Society, and, like other of his works, reveals a clear head, a full mind, and an honest heart.

The next sermon, published by Mr. Chauncy, was in 1737, on the death of deacon Jonathan Williams. It seems to have been well suited to the occasion, and is written with no small portion of mental vigour.

In 1739, Mr. C. published a sermon on religious compulsion, which is in the Theological Library. It contains the principal arguments, which, in both hemispheres, have often and successfully been used for promoting freedom of inquiry, and the right of private judgment, in matters of religion. At the time however, in which this sermon was delivered, it must have appeared to great advantage, as the arguments against intolerance, here used, were by no means so common, as at this day. In this, as in almost every performance of our author, there is apparently an utter carelessness in the choice of words. He seems habitually to have taken such, as first offered themselves, sufficiently expressive indeed of his ideas, but sometimes such, as no dictionary contained. In this sermon also are urged the usual arguments for attending on the Lord's supper.

In 1741, Mr. C. published a sermon on the death of Mrs. Lucy Waldo, which is in the library of Harvard college.

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1741.

In the same year too, he published a sermon on the new creature, which I have not been able to find.

He likewise published, in this year, a sermon on an unbridled tongue, which, though not written seemingly with much care, yet contains some eloquent passages. Some persons, not very friendly to our author, have remarked, that he was a proper person to preach against an unbridled tongue, as, from his occasional hastiness and strength of expression, he experimentally knew its disadvantages. But he certainly wrote in the mildest strain; and his most watchful adversaries were never able to detect, in his publications, a single intemperate or unguarded sentence.

1742.

In 1742, Mr. C. published a sermon on the outpouring of the Holy Ghost. In this excellent discourse may be found the following sentiment, that the extraordinary effusions of the Holy Ghost did not make the subjects of them better men. This undoubtedly is a correct notion, and had been advanced by Whichcote and other english divines; but it was a novel sentiment among american theologians, when Chauncy uttered it, and would by many be received with distrust, at the present day. At the same time, it is remarkable, that this sermon contains sentiments, which would now be thought calvinistick, and which, one would think, could hardly be reconciled with what is taught in the sermon on the various gifts of ministers.

The last mentioned discourse was preached previously to that upon the Holy Ghost, and pub-

lished, in the same year. It has been said, that, in this discourse, Mr. C. put forth the greatness of his strength. It is a noble effort, and has sentences, and even paragraphs, which would do honour to the understanding and affections of any minister in christendom.

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1742.

In the same year, 1742, he published a sermon on enthusiasm, which is also one of his powerful and happy productions. It was the first performance, in which he affixed to his name the title of the doctorate in divinity, which he, this year, received from the university of Edinburgh. He was now thirty-seven years of age. The times called for the decision and energies of such a mind, as Chauncy's; and he shrunk not from fulfilling the task, which providence assigned him. A set of fanatical men, at this time, appeared, assuming to themselves the power and right of judging who, among the ministers of Newengland, were converted, and who not. Of these high pretenders to a kind of inspiration, one of the foremost was Mr. James Davenport of Southhold, on Longisland. To this man, whilst on a visit to Boston, Dr. C. addressed a letter of close examination and sharp rebuke, and prefixed it to his sermon on enthusiasm. The doctor's character was now fixed. He had entirely and honourably committed himself to serve the cause of enlightened and pure religion, in opposition to the heats and phrensies, then prevalent in the country. Of course he was denominated, by field preachers and their adherents, the great

SEC. XV. "opposer." Dr. C. was an acute and diligent  
1742. observer of all their movements, and, through numerous and intelligent correspondents, in various parts, came at a perfect knowledge of their intentions, measures, and effects.

1743. With the same design of resisting, if possible, the torrent of fanaticism, which was threatening to overwhelm the country, as that, with which he wrote and published his sermon on "enthusiasm," he published, in this year, an account of the french prophets, in a letter to a friend. Indeed he left no reputable means untried to convince the more intelligent part of the community, that religion consists not in a heated fancy, in a set of ardent phrases, in hearing a multitude of sermons, or merely saying many prayers, but in a pure heart and a beneficent life.

In accomplishing this purpose, the work, which cost him the greatest pains, which made the greatest clamour among the enthusiasts of the day, and which perhaps, at this time, is accounted one of the most powerful antidotes to theological empiricism, in the country, was his "Seasonable thoughts on the state of religion in New-england, a treatise in five parts. I. Faithfully pointing out the things of a bad and dangerous tendency, in the late and present religious appearance in the land. II. Representing the obligations, which lie upon the pastors of these churches in particular, and upon all in general, to use their endeavours to suppress prevailing disorders ; with the great danger of a neglect in so

important a matter. III. Opening in many instances, wherein the discouragers of irregularities have been injuriously treated. IV. Shewing what ought to be corrected, or avoided, in testifying against the evil things of the present day. V. Directing our thoughts more positively to what may be judged the best expedients, to promote pure and undefiled religion in these times. With a preface, giving an account of the antinomians, familists, and libertines, who infected these churches, above an hundred years ago ; very needful for these days ; the like spirit and errors prevailing now, as did then. The whole being intended and calculated to serve the interest of Christ's kingdom."

SEC. XV.

1743.

The title page of this work, which is here carefully copied, sufficiently gives the character of its design. Mr. Whitfield, who visited this country, in 1740, had produced a strong sensation of a religious nature in the people on the seaboard, from Maine to Georgia. This distinguished and very popular man was followed, in his itinerating career, by Messrs. Tennent, Davenport, and others, who had all the zeal of their leader, without his talents, and all his assurance, without his address. The young european methodist had a most sonorous and commanding voice, and this, united with a ready utterance, and captivating attitudes, secured him a world of admirers. The minds of the people became highly excited. They were no longer satisfied with the cool and moderate strain of preaching, practised by the generality of the Newengland ministers. They had gotten a



SEC. XV. taste for a loose, incoherent kind of sermons,  
1743. which contained strong appeals to their imagination and senses. These they must have, and after them they would go. Had the itinerants, who followed, preceded Whitfield, probably the country might have remained quiet. But men, who were incapable of raising the tempest, were able, by means of dust and rubbish, to continue the troubled state of the atmosphere. All the country was agitated. A variety of disorders were the consequence. Some ministers indeed there were, who secretly and openly favoured these, what they called, revivals of religion, and zealously cooperated with Mr. Whitfield and his friends, invited them into their pulpits, and either published or wrote in their behalf. Among the clergy of this description were Messrs. Moodey of York, Emerson of Malden, and Bliss of Concord. The first was great-grandfather, the two last grandfathers of the writer of this tract. Many there were, who, though dissatisfied with the conduct of these itinerants, yet durst not openly condemn it. Their opposition was secret, for fear of the people. But others came forward manfully, in defence of what they deemed rational and true religion, and testified their disapprobation of the prevalent disorders of the day. At the head of this class was Dr. Chauncy ; and the principal engine, he constructed for the purpose, was the work now under notice.

The story of the early spread of antinomianism in this country, with which he introduces the work, is interesting to every lover of american

history as well, as to divines. He could hardly have better described, with the aid of inspiration, the temper and conduct of modern enthusiasts, than he has described them, in the practice of the antinomians of his own days. Thoroughly understanding the temper of his opponents, he knew what, and how much, to concede to them. He was familiar with their pretences and devices, and frequently detected them in errors, where they felt themselves safe.

SEC. XV.

1743.

In p. 252, he gives a specimen of his power of sarcasm, which is nowise contemptible. It was urged by the friends of Mr. Whitfield, that "there is no good effect of the preaching of unconverted ministers." "If by unconverted ministers," says Dr. C. "be meant such, as have been guilty of the most filthy uncleanness, under the highest aggravations, the preaching of such has not been without good effect, even according to the mind of those, who make this objection. For, it is generally known of a famous preacher, horribly guilty in this kind, and proved to have been so, and deposed from the ministry on this account, that the effect of his preaching, in the extraordinaries of the present day, equalled, for a time, all that the most noted among our new preachers could pretend to. He so preached, as to be flocked after by multitudes of all sorts, and, so far as shrieking, and screaming, and falling down, and being in agonies of distress, or raptures of joy, are a sign of the good effect of preaching, he might compare with any for the evidences of it. But he was a converted minister

SEC. XV. in the opinion of the people ; and there have not  
1743. been, it is true, these extraordinaries following  
the word preached by those, called unconverted,  
though they hope, notwithstanding, they have not  
laboured altogether in vain."

The first part of this work is that, which cost its author the most labour, and which left the deepest impression. It was to expose, in a strong light, the error of many prevalent doctrines, and the falsehood of many round assertions, which were continually in the mouths of the fanatical tribe. To this end he made copious extracts from Baxter, Gurnall, Stillingfleet, and even Flavel ; and, out of the mouths of these pious and orthodox divines, condemned their extravagant rantings and abominable censoriousness.

These rantings and censures and irregular preachings of the itinerants, and the swoonings and screams of their converts, were acknowledged, by the sober part of the christian community, to be imprudencies. But the Dr. superiour to hypocrisy, and fearless of the wrath of his adversaries, insisted on coming out and calling them by their right name, " things of a bad and dangerous tendency."

It was alleged by the new converts of that day, and by their friends, that too much was expected of them. Dr. C. replied, that it was not expected, they would act like angels ; but it was expected, they would act like rational beings.

President Edwards stated, that, " as the influences of the Spirit were new and extraordinary, so it was to be expected, that those, who were the

subjects of them, would be likely to run into ex- SEC. XV.  
travagance." Dr.C. replies, "The pretence, that 1743.  
they are new and extraordinary, will not do.  
The true account to be given of the prevalent  
mistakes is not their newness ; but a notorious  
errour, as to the way and manner of judging in  
this matter." President E. still urged, that,  
"under lively impressions of the Spirit's influ-  
ence, persons would be likely to speak and act  
with great earnestness and vigour," &c. Dr. C.  
answers, "Occasional excesses and weakness are  
to be overlooked ; but the wonder is, how an ex-  
traordinary discovery of the greatness and excel-  
lency of God, the importance of eternal things,  
the preciousness of souls, and the danger of their  
perishing, should make men vain and conceited,  
full of themselves, and apt to throw contempt  
upon others."

President Edwards remarks, "It is no wonder,  
if we have some irregularities, because Satan ex-  
erts himself now more powerfully, than ever."  
Dr. C. concedes readily, "that Satan has had a  
great hand in fomenting these disorders, and  
therefore thinks, that, instead of contriving excu-  
ses for them, they and their author ought to be  
resisted more courageously."

Having prepared the way, in the first part of  
his work, by stating distinctly, what things were  
of a bad and dangerous tendency, and proving,  
that they were so, our author proceeds, in the  
conclusion, to call upon christians in general, and  
christian ministers in particular, for their indus-  
trious aid in the suppression of these disorders.



SEC. XV. He exhorts them not to be deterred by idle fears,  
 1743. nor reproaches, nor any sort of injurious treatment, from correcting as far, as may be in their power, what ought to be corrected, and avoiding what ought to be avoided. Whatever may be the theological sentiments of the reader of this book, he will acknowledge, if he be a man of discernment, that it develops strong powers of reasoning, and an intimate acquaintance with the religious condition of the country, at the time of its publication. Of course it had a most extensive circulation ; it is in the library of almost every american divine ; and, even now, perused with pleasure and improvement by all the lovers of rational religion.

1744. In 1744, Dr. Chauncy published a sermon, which he delivered at the installation of Mr. Thomas Frink, on 1 Tim. iv. 16. " Take heed unto thyself and to thy doctrine ; and continue in them ; for, in doing this, thou shalt save both thyself and them, that hear thee." Without any exordium, he comes directly upon the subject, and first describes the duty of ministers to take heed to themselves and their doctrine ; and, secondly, enforces the powerful motive, suggested by the text. His great object is to be useful ; and, that he may be useful, he takes care to be intelligible. With all his zeal against falsehood, he proposes truth in an unobtrusive manner, and endeavours to expose the errors of fanatics, without injuring their feelings.

In the same year, he preached the convention sermon before the congregational ministers of



Massachusetts. In this masterly performance, he cautions his brethren in the ministry against the occasions of contempt from those words in Titus ii. 15. "Let no man despise thee." Well aware of the power of opinion, he urges on ministers the importance of securing it in their favour, that they may be useful in the world. "Are we content," says he, "to live useless? Are we willing to go on in a round of attending the duties of our calling, and do no good?" With great plainness and pungency he presses home his subject upon the consciences of his hearers, and leaves this impression upon the mind of his reader, that, whether the author himself were loved or hated, he could not be despised.

SEC XV.

1744.

In the same year, the Dr. addressed a letter to Rev. George Whitfield, publicly calling on him to defend his conduct, or confess his faults,

In 1745, he addressed a second letter to the same person. I have never seen either of these performances; but it is thought, that the exertions of Dr. C. in opposing the fanaticism, excited by Mr. W. and others, were serviceable to the cause of rational religion.

1745

In the last mentioned year also, he gave to the publick a sermon, which he preached, on a day of thanksgiving, appointed in grateful and pious commemoration of the reduction of Cape Breton.

Another sermon, this year, he published on the death of Mr. Cornelius Thayer, one of the deacons of his church. So he took for his subject the character of Cornelius, and for his text, the notice taken of him in Acts x. 1, 2. It is a plain,

SEC. XV. sensible discourse, written with no art and little  
 1745. effort, yet instructive and consolatory. In describing the character of Cornelius, the Dr. says, "What he gave away in alms to the poor was his own, not the property of his creditors. He did not defraud one man, that he might exercise charity towards another ; much less did he think of atoning for his injustice by being bountiful to the necessitous."

1746. On 6 February, 1746, the Dr. preached the thursday lecture, and prepared a discourse on the existing rebellion, in favour of the pretender, which was soon afterwards published. It contains an historical account of that event, and is enriched with valuable notes. After discussing the passage of scripture, selected as the text, he applies the subject to the political event, which had created a strong sensation through every part of the kingdom. He first takes notice of the design, formed against the king and the nation, then represents it, as altogether nefarious, in its natural tendency and moral aspects, and lastly encourages his hearers to hope, that so wicked a plot will be frustrated by a God of order and righteousness. Throughout the discourse, the author shows himself to be a true patriot as well, as a good christian ; and that he had carefully attended to both the politicks and the religion of his country.

1747. In 1747, Dr. C. preached the election sermon, His text is 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. In this, as in every discourse, our author comes almost immediately to the main object, which he has in view. He never fatigues his hearer with a tedious introduc-

tion, which, for any connexion it holds with the subject, might as well have been omitted, as delivered; but usually prefaces the statement of his design with a few pertinent and luminous remarks. The plan of this discourse is to show, I. “There is a certain order among mankind, according to which, some are intrusted with power to rule over others. II. Those, who rule over others, must be just, ruling in the fear of God.” The former of these heads he speedily and properly despatches. Under the latter, he distinctly notices the various instances, which demand the interposition of an equitable ruler. They must be just in their private capacity, just in the use of their power, in the laws, by which they govern, in the execution of those laws, in the payment of debts due from the publick, in maintaining the liberties and privileges of the subject, in defending the state, and preserving its peace and safety, and, finally, in promoting the general welfare and prosperity of a people. In dilating on that topick, in which the Dr. said, that rulers ought to be just “in maintaining the liberties and privileges of the subject,” he takes occasion to plead the cause of his professional brethren, who had suffered severely, through the fluctuations of the medium. He then enforces upon rulers the duty of equity, upon a principle of piety, and exhibits the certainty, uniformity, and excellence of that principle, in a very striking point of light. The whole is closed with addresses to both rulers and people, on the subject of righteousness between man and man, in such pungent language, as

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1747.

SEC. XV. could not fail of producing an extraordinary effect. “And will you,” says the Dr. “our honoured rulers, by any positive acts, or faulty neglects, suffer yourselves to be instrumental in the continuance of such a state of things? God forbid! You are, my fathers, accountable to that God, whose throne is in the heavens, in common with other men. And his eyes behold your conduct in your publick capacity; and he sees and observes it, not merely as a spectator, but an almighty righteous judge; one, who enters all upon record, in order to a reckoning day. And a day is coming, it lingers not, when you shall all stand upon a level with the meanest subjects, before the tremendous bar of the righteous judge of all the earth, and be called upon to render an account, not only of your private life, but of your whole management, as intrusted with the concerns of this people.”

This is a specimen of a strain, long continued, in which the Dr. reprov'd many of his hearers, for legislating in a manner, which injured excessively the morals of the province. Some indeed were so piqued on the occasion, that they hesitated and debated in court, whether, according to custom, they should print the sermon. Of this fact Dr. C. was informed. He sharply replied, “It shall be printed, whether the general court print it or not. And do you, sir,” addressing himself to his informant, “say from me, that, if I wanted to initiate and instruct a person into all kinds of iniquity and double dealing, I would send him to our general court.”



Such was the righteous zeal of a man, whose indignation against wrong could never be suppressed; and whose lofty sense of right nothing could bring down; who had no sympathy for knaves and hypocrites; who loved and cherished the civil and religious liberties of his country with an ardour bordering on enthusiasm; who was never carried away by a wild imagination, or weak credulity; who was conversant rather with facts, than fables, with principles, than feelings, and with arguments, than words. If this man had not taste, it was the fault of his age, or of his education; there was no deficiency in intellect or feeling. He had a fair, sound, well balanced mind, which saw every thing through a correct medium, and reported truly the results of its investigations.

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1747.

In 1749, Mrs. Anna Foxcroft, wife of Rev. T. Foxcroft, died. Dr. C. preached and published a sermon from those words in Rev. xiv. 13. "I heard a voice," &c. He first describes the persons, pronounced blessed; then notices the time, when their blessedness begins; and, lastly, specifies the instances, in which they are blessed. The application to the case of the deceased is respectful to her memory and the feelings of survivors. It is said, that Dr. C. believed in a quiescent state of the soul, between death and the resurrection. The contrary would be thought his opinion from perusing this discourse.

1749.

About the year 1750, there was formed a society for encouraging industry, and employing the poor. Before this society Dr. Chauncy, in

1752.



SEC. XV. 1752, preached a sermon from 2 Thess. iii. 10.  
 1752. "This we commanded you, that, if any would not work, neither should he eat." The Dr. first ascertains the sense of the command ; in the next place, justifies ; and, lastly, applies it. It is a good sermon, and shows him to be well acquainted with human nature, and firmly attached to the welfare of the political community, to which he belonged.

1754. In 1754, Dr. C. published a sermon on the horrid nature and enormous guilt of murder, which he had preached, at the thursday lecture, the day, when a malefactor was executed. He first explains the crime of murder, excepting from it accidental killing, killing in self-defence, in just and necessary war, and those, who are sentenced to die by the laws of the country ; and, secondly, enforces the command in the text. He represents, in strong and lively colours, the guilt of the sin, of which he speaks, and is more pathetick and animated, than usual, in the close of the discourse.

In this, as in every small as well, as larger work of Dr. C. it is worthy of observation to see, how desirous he is to be useful. You find him ever endeavouring, by his labours, to increase, both his own and his neighbour's activity ; to multiply instruments of light and comfort to mankind ; and to promote, in himself and others, a useful and beneficent life.

1755. On the morning of 18 November, 1755, the inhabitants of Boston, and of all the northern and middle states of North America, were surprised

with the most violent shock of an earthquake, that ever was experienced, in this part of the world. Many houses were shattered, hundreds of chimnies were thrown down, walls broken, and huge chasms made in various parts of the earth. It lasted, about three minutes. On the sunday following this terrible event, the Dr. preached a sermon from Job ix. 5. 6. on earthquakes being a token of the divine anger. He shows, first, that these convulsions proceed from the First Cause ; and, secondly, that he ordinarily causes them, in testimony of his righteous anger. In dilating upon the second part of the subject, he takes notice of those sins, which may have provoked the anger of God, and particularizes uncleanness, sabbath-breaking, pride, unrighteousness, drunkenness, enmity to Christ, and ill-treatment of him.

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1755.

In the same year, he published a letter, relating to the Ohio defeat. It appears to have been written to a friend in England, where it was reprinted. Dr. C. proves himself to have been well acquainted with the american politicks of his own times, and a warm defender of the honour of Newengland.

He wrote also, this year, a particular narrative of the defeat of the french army, at lake George, in a letter to a friend.

In 1756, Dr. C. preached and published a sermon, on the earthquakes in Spain, entitled, "The earth delivered from the curse, to which it is at present subjected," from those words, in Rev. xxii. 3. "And there shall be no more curse." This sermon contains a good variety of sentiment as well, as of curious theological speculation. The

SEC. XV.

1756.

Dr. thought, with most of the divines of his day, that the earth underwent a great alteration, in consequence of the fall of Adam ; and, to the present disordered and troublous condition of our world, he opposes that paradisaical state, in which man no longer shall be a sufferer. He is of opinion, that the seasons, soil, climate, and bowels of the earth have all been cursed in such a manner, as to be different from what they were before the lapse of Adam, and that the whole constitution of nature has been changed for the worse. The final cause of this curse, he believes, to be the ultimate good of mankind. And, having served the generations, as a scene of trial, he holds, that it will revert to its pristine order, beauty, and loveliness, and be the heavenly residence of virtuous men. Having quoted a number of texts in support of this hypothesis, he concludes, “ It should seem very plain therefore, that the new heavens and new earth, so particularly spoken of, both by the apostle Peter, and the apostle John, are this world of ours brought back to its paradisaick state, or one that is better ; and that the very world, we now live in, thus changed and made new, is the place, where good men, after the resurrection and judgment, shall live and reign with Christ forever and ever.”

1757.

In 1757, Dr. C. published the sermon, which he preached, the sunday after the death of Mr. Edward Gray. The subject is “ Deeds of charity rewarded at the judgment day with everlasting blessedness.” And the text is Matt. xxv. 34, 35, 40. It is a plain, sensible discourse, but undoubtedly written *calamo currente*.

The next publication of Dr. C. which arrests SECT. XV.  
 and is well worthy of notice, is “ The validity of 1762.  
 presbyterian ordination asserted and maintained.  
 A discourse, delivered at the anniversary Dudleian  
 lecture, at Harvard college in Cambridge, New-  
 england, 12 May, 1762. With an appendix,  
 giving a brief historical account of the epistles  
 ascribed to Ignatius ; and exhibiting some of the  
 many reasons, why they ought not to be depend-  
 ed on, as his uncorrupted works.”

He states in this discourse the things, in  
 which congregationalists agree with episcopali-  
 ans. All are agreed, that it is the will of Christ,  
 that an order of ministers should be continued  
 upon earth ; that none unqualified should assume  
 the pastoral office ; that, in the investiture of office,  
 certain forms should be observed ; and that the  
 act of investiture should be performed by those  
 and those only, who are authorized to perform it.  
 Then comes the consideration of the grand ques-  
 tion, Who those officers are ? The episcopalians,  
 on their part, contend, that there were, from the  
 beginning, two orders of christian ministers, bish-  
 ops and presbyters, and that the former of these  
 only had, and ought to have, the power of ordina-  
 tion. Dr. C. on the part of congregationalists  
 affirms, that Jesus appointed and designed, that  
 there should be one order only of christian minis-  
 ters, and that the terms *bishops* and *presbyters* are  
 used synonymously in the christian scriptures and  
 in the writings of the christian fathers of the two,  
 certainly, if not three first centuries. After  
 learnedly discussing the subject, he concludes,

SEC. XV. " I trust, I may now say, it has been made sufficiently clear, from the positive evidence, that has been exhibited in the former part of this discourse, and from its not being invalidated, but rather strengthened, by the counter-evidence we have examined in the latter part, that the power of ordination was not deposited in the hands of bishops, as distinguished from presbyters ; but that bishops or presbyters, meaning by these terms one and the same order of officers, were vested with power to ordain in the church of Christ ; and consequently that ordination by a council of presbyters, as practised by these churches, is valid to all the ends of the gospel-ministry."

1762.

To this valuable sermon is added a still more valuable appendix, in which the Dr. abundantly proves, that the reputed epistles of St. Ignatius are entitled to no credit in settling the dispute between episcopalians and presbyterians.

The next sermon published by the Dr. was the one, which he preached at the ordination of Rev. Joseph Bowman, missionary to the mohawk indians. The dedication is to the marquis of Lothian, and written with more elegance, in point of style, than usually marks the writings of our author. The title of this discourse is, " All nations blessed in Christ." And here is discernible, for the first time, a glimpse of that scheme of universal salvation, for which Dr. C. was so abused by some, and celebrated by others. He says, in his sermon, p. 20. " And can it be supposed, when the promise is thus gloriously exten-



sive, as to its object, that a few only will be blessed, in consequence of it ?” The three things, of which he particularly treats, are the *seed*, in whom this promise is made, the just import of the blessing promised, and the extent of that promise. He has two curious notes, in which he delivers some sentiments in regard to the indians of this country, which were, at that time, and are still, unfashionable. He thinks, that they ought to be christianized, without being civilized ; and, that all our efforts at education and evangelizing, instead of educating indian youths among ourselves, should be made upon them in their own country.

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1762.

In 1765, Dr. C. published twelve sermons, relating to Sandemanians. The first sermon is on Gal. ii. 16. “ Knowing, that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ, that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law ; for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.” This is the text. The sermon begins thus. “ The first and last clause in this verse are express in affirming negatively,” &c. Rev. J. Condy, when these sermons were first published, took them up in a bookseller’s shop, and, on reading these words, laid them down, saying he was satisfied ; he wished to read no more of these affirmative negations.

1765.

Notwithstanding however the inelegant commencement of the sermons, they make a work, every way creditable to the talents of their author. Dr. Eliot, a contemporary with Dr. Chauncy,

SEC. XV. said, on reading these discourses, that, much as  
 1763. he was acquainted with Dr. C.'s powers, he was  
 astonished at the production.

In the first discourse he proves, that justification is impossible by the works of the law. After explaining the words *justify*, and *works of the law*, he proceeds to his proofs. "To justify," he says, "is not to make just, as to sanctify is to make holy ;" but "it is to account or adjudge, as just." By "works of the law" are sometimes meant the law of natural religion, sometimes the law of divine revelation, and again the law ritual ordained by Moses. His object is then to show, that, in whatever sense the word *law* is understood, it is impossible to comply fully with its requisitions ; that God never intended to judge any of his lapsed offspring by the rigours of law ; that he always meant to be merciful to the creatures, he had made ; and that it is only on the compassionate terms of the gospel, that any of the children of Adam will ever be saved.

The second discourse, on the same text, is occupied in answering the question, "Wherefore then serveth the law ?"

It was given, because of transgressions, because mankind had obscured the light of reason, and to prevent the utter loss of all distinction between virtue and vice.

It was added, because of transgressions, that the Jews might have a certain rule of duty, and that by knowledge of law they might have a knowledge of sin.

It was added, that the malignity of sin might be more apparent.

It was added, in fine, that the Jews might be excited to repentance, and to accept the pardon, proffered them in the revelation of grace.

SEC. XV.

1765.

The moral law as well, as the jewish ceremonies, was designed, as a schoolmaster to bring the Jews to Christ. It led them to a knowledge of sin, to discipline their hearts and minds, and trained them to those dispositions and habits, which the gospel was to promulgate, to cherish, and ripen.

The third discourse, which is on the same text, proposes to ascertain the nature of justifying faith.

“Faith,” says the Dr. “herein differs from knowledge. Faith is the mind’s assent upon testimony, and upon the testimony of God, if the faith is christian. Knowledge is an assent grounded on the perception of the bodily senses, or the operation of our reasonable powers.” He says, that two things are to be considered in regard to a justifying faith. One is the object, about which it is conversant ; the other is, the assent of the mind with reference to this object. Sometimes the object of christian faith is the doctrine of Jesus ; sometimes God ; sometimes Christ ; Christ, as the Messiah ; Christ, as the Son of God ; Christ, as shedding his blood on the cross ; Christ, as risen from the dead. Dr. C. takes occasion in this discourse to touch upon the unreasonableness of censuring one another’s creed, and the worth and loveliness of a charitable spirit.

“The short of the matter is,” says he, “the truths contained in the revelations of God, considered in one collective view, are the proper object of faith.”

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1765.

The fourth sermon is occupied in showing the proper influence or operation of this justifying faith. It shows itself in a new temper, in good works, in regeneration, repentance, and holiness of heart and life. It showed itself in the obedience of Abraham, Abel, Enoch, and Noah ; and is, in short, visible in the life of every good man.

The fifth sermon continues to display more particularly the nature of justifying faith.

The sixth assigns to justifying faith its proper place.

The seventh shows that “ human endeavours, in the use of means, are the way, in which faith is obtained.” Our author here combats the notion maintained by Solifidians, that God is the sole author of faith in the soul of man, and that it is wrought independently of all human agency and cooperation. He allows indeed, and contends for the truth, that God is the author of the truth to be believed ; but he insists, that the act of believing is man’s ; and, that faith, like every thing else, is to be sought for in the use of the means of religion.

In the eighth discourse Dr. C. proceeds with the arguments, and specifies particular acts, of which a man, though destitute of justifying faith, is capable, and which, as a reasonable being, he ought to perform. He contends, that sinners may, with the divine aid, so exert their rational faculties, as to be convinced of the being and perfections of God ; of the difference between moral good and evil ; of their obligations to choose the first and avoid the last ; of the immortality of



their souls ; of the truth of revelation ; and of the importance of fleeing from the wrath, which is denounced against the impenitent. In consequence of this faith, though not a justifying one, the Dr. affirms, that sinners may grieve for their sins, practise duties formerly neglected ; read the scriptures ; prefer religious meditation to the vanities of the world ; attend to the institutions of christianity ; to prayer ; and to the culture of their religious affections. These things are their indispensable duty. Even if they cannot perform them from the highest principles, they ought to act under the influence of the best principles, they possess. Better avoid sin from no higher motive, than the mere dread of hell, than not avoid it at all.

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In the ninth discourse it is stated, that these endeavours of sinners, previously to their arriving at justifying faith, are the ordinary methods, by which the Deity begins and effectuates the work of faith in their hearts. Instances are adduced in proof and illustration ; and it is pretty well established, not only that the use of means is connected with the attainment of salvation, but that means are blessed in proportion to the diligence, with which they are used.

The tenth discourse is occupied in answering objections. It is objected, for instance, that faith is an entire and immediate act of almighty power. Dr. C. answers, Should this be the truth, it will not follow, that human endeavours are needless. For God, if he please, may as well make seeking sinners the subjects of this gift, as the thought-



SEC. XV. less and obdurate. Should it however prove  
1765. true, that, in the bestowment of faith, men are not  
merely passive subjects of this gift, the preceding  
remarks upon human endeavours are highly im-  
portant. And this way of communicating the  
gift appears most rational and scriptural. It  
seems reasonable to suppose, that God, in draw-  
ing sinners to Christ, would accomplish the work  
by cooperating with human faculties in the use  
of proper means. Had the powers of men been  
destroyed by the original lapse, it would indeed  
be impossible for them to do any thing of them-  
selves, until those faculties were restored by a di-  
vine energy. But, as they exist in men, it is  
reasonable to suppose, that God would produce  
faith within them in a way, which is adapted to  
their character. And this is the way prescribed  
in the scriptures. Faith in Christ is a command-  
ed duty. A neglect to acquire this faith is de-  
clared to be a sin. It is thus made certain, that  
men are considered, as accountable agents in the  
business of faith. Why did Christ work mira-  
cles, but to produce in the minds of men the work  
of faith? And why are the means and motives  
so numerous of exciting attention to the truths of  
the gospel? Plainly, that men might not want  
suitable stimulus to the discharge of their duty,  
and that, if negligent, they might be without ex-  
cuse. For “how shall they call on him, in whom  
they have not believed? And how shall they  
believe in him, of whom they have not heard?  
And how shall they hear, without a preacher?”

From these questions of the apostle, this is his conclusion. “ So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.” SEC. XV.

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[The author had proceeded no further, at his death.]

ACCOUNT OF DR. CHAUNCY'S FAMILY. BY DR. CLARKE.

“ Charles Chauncy, from whom the Chauncys in this country descended, was born, A.D. 1589. He had his grammar education at Westminster-school ; and was at school, at the time the gun-powder plot was to have taken effect ; and must have perished, if the parliament-house had been blown up. He was afterwards, when qualified, sent to the university of Cambridge, where he commenced bachelor of divinity, and was chosen hebrew professor. But the vice-chancellor, Dr. Williams, preferring a kinsman, he was fixed in the greek professorship. He was an accurate hebrician and grecian, and indeed admirably skilled in all the learned languages. He went out of the university an eminent gospel-preacher ; was first settled at Marston, and afterwards removed to Ware, where his success became matter of much observation.

It was in the days of archbishop Laud, that, for ease to his conscience, he came over to New-england. He arrived at Plymouth, a few days before the great earthquake, which happened, 1 January, 1638. He spent some time at Plymouth, ministering to the church there, with their

SEC. XV. pastor, the Rev. Mr. Reyner, and then settled at Scituate, where he continued about nine years ; when, upon an invitation from his old friends at Ware, he purposed a removal back to England with his family ; but, when he came to Boston, in order to take passage, the overseers of Harvard college, by their vehement importunity, prevailed upon him to take the presidentship of that society, in which place he continued to the day of his death, highly honoured for his learning and piety.

In the year 1671, he made his farewell oration, on the day of commencement ; and, towards the close of the year, exchanged this life for a better, in the 82d year of his age, and the 17th of his presidentship over Harvard college.

He left behind him six sons, every one of whom received their degrees at the college, and some of them from the hands of their aged father. They all, for a time, were preachers ; and some of them settled in the ministry, and continued in it, till death.

Isaac, the eldest of the sons, left this country, and became pastor to a church in London. If I mistake not, he officiated with the Rev. Dr. Watts. He had three children. The youngest, by the name of Charles, came out into this country, and settled here a merchant.

From this Charles descended Charles, who was born 1 January, A. D. 1705."

To this I would add, that, at the age of seven years, Dr. Chauncy lost his father. At twelve, he entered college ; commenced master of arts at nineteen ; and was associated with the

Rev. Mr. Foxcroft, in the pastoral care of the SEC. XV.  
First Church, 25 October, 1727. In 1742, he  
was honoured with the degree of doctor in divini-  
ty by the university of Edinburgh. He expired,  
10 February, 1787, in the 83d year of his age.

Dr. Chauncey had three children.

*A Catalogue of the printed works of Dr. Chauncey.*

- A sermon on the death of Mrs. Sarah Byefield, 1731.
- A sermon on the death of Miss Elizabeth Price, 1732.
- A sermon on the death of judge Byefield, 1733.
- A sermon before the artillery company, 1734.
- A sermon on the death of Mr. Jonathan Williams, 1737.
- A sermon on religious compulsion, 1739.
- A sermon on the death of Mrs. Lucy Waldo, 1741.
- A sermon on the new creature, 1741.
- A sermon on an unbridled tongue, 1741.
- A sermon on the various gifts of ministers, 1742.
- A sermon on the out-pouring of the Holy Ghost, 1742.
- A sermon on enthusiasm, 1742.
- Account of the french prophets, in a letter to a friend, 1742.
- Seasonable thoughts on the state of religion, 8vo. 1743.
- A sermon at the instalment of the Rev. Mr. Frink, 1744.
- A sermon at the annual convention, 1744.
- A letter to Rev. George Whitfield, publickly calling on  
him to defend his conduct, or confess his faults, 1744.
- A second letter to the same, 1745.
- Thanksgiving sermon on the reduction of cape Breton, 1745.
- A sermon on the death of Mr. Cornelius Thayer, 1745.
- A sermon on the rebellion in favour of the pretender, 1745.
- An election sermon, 1747.
- A sermon on the death of Mrs. Foxcroft, 1749.
- A sermon for encouraging industry, 1752.
- A sermon on murder, 1754.
- A sermon on the earthquake, 1755.
- Account of the Ohio defeat, in a letter to a friend, 1755.
- A particular narrative of the defeat of the french army,  
at lake George, in a letter to a friend, 1755.

- SEC. XV.** A sermon on the earthquakes in Spain, &c. 1756.  
 A sermon on the death of Mr. Edward Gray, 1757.  
 The opinion of one, who has perused the summer morning's conversation, &c. 1758.  
 Dudleian Lecture. On presbyterian ordination, 1762.  
 A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Jos. Bowman, 1762.  
 Twelve sermons, particularly referring to the Sandemanian doctrines, 1765.  
 A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Bowen, 1766.  
 A sermon on the death of Dr. Mayhew, 1766.  
 Thanksgiving sermon on the repeal of the stamp-act, 1767.  
 A sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Howard, 1767.  
 Remarks on the bishop of Landaff's sermon, in a letter to a friend, 1767.  
 Answer to Dr. Chandler's appeal, 1768.  
 A sermon on the death of Rev. Thomas Foxcroft, 1769.  
 A sermon on the death of Dr. Sewall, 1769.  
 "Trust in God, the duty of a people," &c. a sermon preached at the request of a number of patriotick gentlemen, 1770.  
 Reply to Dr. Chandler's appeal defended, 1770.  
 A complete view of episcopacy. 8vo. 1771.  
 Five sermons on the communion, 1772.  
 A sermon on "all things in common," 1773.  
 A just representation of the hardships and sufferings of the town of Boston, in a letter to a friend, 1774.  
 A sermon on the "accursed thing," 1778.  
 The mystery hid from ages, or the salvation of all men. 8vo. 1784.  
 The benevolence of the Deity, fairly and impartially considered. 8vo. 1784.  
 Five dissertations on the fall and its consequences. 8vo. 1785.  
 A sermon upon the return of the society to their house of worship, after it had undergone the necessary repairs, 1785.



## SECTION XVI.

Sketch of the life and character of the late Rev. Dr. Clarke.

**JOHN CLARKE, D. D.** pastor of the First Church in Boston, was born at Portsmouth, in Newhampshire, April 13, 1755 ; graduated at Harvard college, in 1774 ; and ordained, July 8, 1778, as colleague with the late Dr. Chauncy, with whom he lived, in the most intimate and respectful friendship, about nine years ; and afterwards continued assiduously and faithfully labouring in the service of the church, until the Lord's-day, April 1, 1798 ; when, in the midst of his afternoon sermon, he was suddenly seized with an apoplexy, fell down in the pulpit, and expired in less than twelve hours ; having almost completed the forty-third year of his age, and the twentieth year of his ministry.

SEC. XVI.

1798.

Descended from respectable parents, who live to lament an only son, he discovered in early life the signs of genius and industry. At the university, he was distinguished by a close attention to classick and philosophick studies, by a strict obedience to the laws, and by irreproachable morals. In the office of preceptor, he was gentle and persuasive, beloved by his pupils, and esteemed by their friends. As a publick preacher,

SEC. XVI. his compositions bore the marks of penetration, judgment, perspicuity, and elegance. Faithful to the interest of religion, he deeply examined its foundation and evidence ; and, persuaded of the truth and importance of the christian system, he recommended, by his publick discourses and private conversation, its sublime doctrines, its wise institutions, and its salutary precepts.

Though fond of polite literature and philosophick researches, yet he considered theology, as the proper science of a gospel minister. To this object he principally devoted his time and studies, and was earnestly desirous of investigating every branch of it, not merely to gratify his own sacred curiosity, but that he might impart to his hearers the whole counsel of God. He was habitually a close student ; and it is not improbable, that the intenseness of his mental application proved too severe for the delicate fabrick of his nerves.

His devotional addresses were copious and fervent ; and his intercessions strong and affectionate ; discovering at once the ardour of his piety, and the warmth of his benevolence. In the private offices of pastoral friendship, he was truly exemplary and engaging. His temper was mild and cheerful ; his manners easy and polite ; and the social virtues of an honest heart gave a glow to his language, and enlivened every circle, in which he was conversant.

In the relations of a son, a brother, a husband, a father, a guardian, a correspondent, a master, a friend, and a member of several literary and char-

itable societies,\* his deportment was marked with affection, fidelity, and carefulness. He was concerned for the interest, reputation, and happiness of all his connexions ; and zealously devoted to the cause of science and humanity.

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1798.

Being successour to *ten* eminent luminaries of the church of God, he was studious to emulate them in piety, learning, and usefulness. Like three of them, he was suddenly called off from his ministerial labours, and, having happily escaped the painful agonies of a lingering death, is gone to receive the reward of a faithful servant, and enter into the joy of his Lord.

Dr. Clarke's printed works are four sermons, one on the death of Dr. Cooper, one on the death of Dr. Chauncy, one on the death of Dr. N. W. Appleton, and one before the Humane Society ; An answer to the question, Why are you a Christian ? which has had three editions in Boston, and three in England ; and Letters to a student at the university of Cambridge."

A volume of Dr. Clarke's sermons has been published, since his decease. It is a selection, that does honour to his memory ; and will be cherished by the christian and the scholar, as exhibiting, in elegant and very impressive language, the pure and pious sentiments of one of the best of men.†

\* Dr. Clarke was a counsellor of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, corresponding secretary of the Humane Society of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, and one of the members of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

† [To this has since been added a volume, containing seventeen sermons to the young.]

SEC. XVI. His remains were entombed, the friday after  
 1793. his decease, with every mark of esteem and affec-  
 5 April. tion. A sermon was preached at his interment  
 by Rev. Peter Thacher, D.D. from 2 Sam. i. 26.

8 April. On the Lord's-day after the decease of Dr.  
 Clarke, a discourse was delivered to his bereav-  
 ed flock, by Rev. Dr. Willard, president of the  
 university in Cambridge, from which the follow-  
 ing character of the deceased is selected.

“ Being a tutor at the university, when he be-  
 came a member, and the class, to which he be-  
 longed, being committed to my particular care, I  
 had an early opportunity of knowing his charac-  
 ter, and I was soon led to distinguish in him that  
 genius and application to study, together with  
 that amiable disposition and excellent spirit,  
 which have ever since conspicuously shone in  
 him. For two years and a quarter, I continued  
 with the class, and, during that time, his improve-  
 ments in literature and science were very observ-  
 able ; and his conduct was so uniformly good, in  
 every respect, that he never merited or received  
 a censure, or a frown from any one, who had the  
 care and instruction of the youth ; and I found  
 by information, after my leaving the class and  
 the university, that he maintained the same char-  
 acter, through the whole of his collegiate course.  
 And perhaps there never was a student, who  
 passed through the university and went into the  
 world with a fairer reputation, and few with  
 more solid and useful acquirements.

For some time after Mr. Clarke left the uni-  
 versity, he was engaged in the instruction of



youth, in which employment he was highly  
esteemed and beloved. But, whatever his pur-  
suits were, he did not suffer his mind to be di-  
verted from the great object, he had in view,  
which was to fit for the sacred desk. While he  
was faithful in performing the business he under-  
took, he devoted his leisure hours to accomplish  
himself for that profession, which lay nearest his  
heart ; and he pursued his theological studies  
with great assiduity, so that, when he first entered  
the desk, it was not with a superficial knowledge.  
His natural abilities and literary acquirements  
were such, as enabled him to search the sacred  
oracles with accuracy, especially the original of  
the new testament, and to attend to every sub-  
ject in divinity with judgment. And such was  
the candour and fairness of his mind, that few men,  
perhaps, have been more free from prejudices in  
their researches. He therefore became a scribe  
well instructed in the gospel system.

His discourses early discovered an elegant  
taste in composition, a correctness, propriety, and  
pertinence in thought, and that strain of serious-  
ness and piety, which could not but be attrac-  
tive. You, my brethren, soon heard of his  
worth ; and, when you employed him, as a candi-  
date for the ministry among you, your expecta-  
tions from him were not disappointed ; nay, it  
will not be beyond the truth to say, that they  
were more than answered. After preaching with  
you a competent time, he was ordained over you,  
as a colleague pastor with the venerable, learned,  
and valuable doctor Chauncy, with whom he

SEC. XVI.

1798.



SEC. XVI. served, as a son with a father ; and between them  
1798. there ever existed the most happy harmony, till the day of the doctor's death.

Having obtained a settlement, he did not grow remiss about future improvements, but continued the same assiduity, which had been a distinguished trait in his character. To the liberal arts and sciences, for which he had a true relish, and in which he was no common proficient, he, at times, paid attention. But these he considered, as nothing more, than handmaids to divinity, and of but secondary consideration. Divinity was his profession ; and to this he directly applied a principal part of his time. He had devoted himself to the cause of God and the Redeemer, and he would not suffer other pursuits, however pleasing to his ingenious mind, to steal him away from his proper functions, and rob him of that time, which he considered himself bound in duty to employ for the instruction and edification of his flock, either in preparation for his publick labours among them, or in private interviews with the various members. I have dwelt the more largely on this part of his character, because a scholar of Dr. Clarke's acquirements, and taste for literature and science, is under a strong temptation to spend more time in such pursuits, than is consistent with properly discharging the duties of his sacred profession.

Your pastor employed himself much in the study of the holy scriptures. To these heavenly oracles he repaired, as the sources of divine knowledge, and endeavoured to gain right apprehensions of the truths contained in them, both for

his own sake and the sake of his hearers, whom he instructed in these, according to his best understanding, after making use of the most approved helps he could procure, and which he was constantly laying himself out to obtain.

SEC. XVI.

1798.

His pulpit performances were always acceptable. With those compositions of his, which I have either heard or read, I have ever been pleased and edified. His treatise in defence of christianity, entitled, "Why are you a christian?" is perhaps as valuable a piece, as has been written within the same compass. By its conciseness it is well adapted to being dispersed; and by its perspicuity and pertinence happily calculated to convince and confirm. It is highly esteemed, not only on this, but on the other side of the Atlantic. I have received, but a little while since, a letter from a respectable divine in Great Britain.\* In this letter he says, "We have here been greatly pleased, instructed, and impressed by a little piece, by one of your ministers, Mr. Clarke, entitled, 'Why are you a christian?'" And after mentioning, that three editions of it had been printed in England, two of which he himself had carried through the press, he adds, "The circulation of it cannot fail to give pleasure to the pious and worthy author, and to insure its views of usefulness."

His pleasing private intercourse with you, and also with the children of the society, whom he delighted to instruct, you need not be reminded of. The impressions made by these endearments will not be soon, if ever, effaced. Indeed, so sweet was his disposition, and so engaging his

\* The Rev. Joshua Toulmin, D. D. of Taunton.

SEC XVI. manners ; so pleasing was he in his conversa-  
 1798. tion, and so amiable in all his interviews with  
 those he met, that a general esteem of and affec-  
 tion for him was almost unavoidably excited ; and  
 he was beloved by all, but the determined foes of  
 virtue and goodness.

I pass over his domestick virtues, in which he was  
 eminent, and which all, who knew him, witnessed.

What an unspeakable loss have you sustained  
 in the death of such a minister and friend ! But  
 let the bereaved relatives, let the members of  
 this religious society, consider the consolations,  
 which offer themselves in the midst of their grief.  
 You have all abundant reason to conclude, that he  
 was a man of habitual piety, and that he lived  
 mindful of his exit ; so that, although he was  
 suddenly summoned out of time into eternity, he  
 was prepared for the change, and that “ his loins  
 were girded about, and his light burning.” He  
 may be said to have been watching, when his  
 master knocked. He was even then particularly  
 employed in his service, engaged in the very act  
 of religious teaching, and endeavouring to prepare  
 men for a better world.

Such grounds of comfort have we, when we  
 reflect upon the character of our dear departed  
 friend. We consider him, as one, who had been  
 sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise ;\* and that,  
 having been thus sealed, he is now ascended to that  
 “ Holy One, who inhabiteth the praises of Israel.”†

\* A part of the text, treated upon by the deceased, on the forenoon  
 of the day of his decease, previous to the communion. Eph. i. 13.

† The subject, upon which he was treating in the afternoon,  
 when he was seized with the fatal malady.

## SECTION XVII.

The following character of Rev. Mr Emerson is extracted from  
Rev. J. S. Buckminster's sermon, at his funeral.

“ **H**ELP, Lord, for the godly man ceaseth ; for  
the faithful fail from among the children of men !”  
Psalm xii. 1.

SEC. XVII.

1811.

*The godly man ceaseth.* The Reverend William Emerson\* gave early indications of devotedness to the service of God. He was a descendant of pious ancestors, through many generations ; and the only son of one of the most popular and promising ministers of Newengland, who died early in the american revolution. The mother, who survives to mourn over the death of her son, saw him with delight soon giving his attention and studies to the word and ministry of that God, to whom the prayers and wishes of his parents had directed his first thoughts. They, who knew him best, during the most trying period of youthful virtue, bear witness to the sin-

\* The following dates and facts, relating to Rev. Mr. Emerson and his family, may be grateful to his friends and the publick.

He was the son of Rev. William Emerson and Phebe his wife, daughter of the Rev. Daniel Bliss.

He was born at Concord, 6 May, 1769.

Graduated at Cambridge, 1789.

Ordained at Harvard, 1792.

Installed in the First Church, Boston, 16 Oct. 1799.

Died, 12 May, 1811.



SEC. XVII. gular purity of his mind, tenderness of his conscience, devoutness of his feelings, and strictness of his manners ; qualities, which, by God's blessing, age and experience did not diminish, and which his christian profession afterwards secured and improved.

In one of the longest conversations, which I was permitted to hold with him, a few days before his death, when his mind seemed to be lighted up anew, and his faculties to collect fresh vigour, he expressed the most grateful and pious satisfaction in the circumstance, that he, with all his father's family, had so early felt the obligations of the gospel, as to give themselves up to Jesus Christ by a profession of his religion. The privilege of being a christian then occupied his thoughts ; and he continued to talk with unusual animation of the benefits of early communion ; and to express his wishes, that his eldest son, then at his bedside, might not forget early to seek, nor be so unhappy as ever to forfeit, this christian privilege. That great article of the christian dispensation, the resurrection from the dead, was the frequent theme of his meditations, and of his publick instructions ; so that his faith was not vain, nor his preaching vain ; for his faith was always strong enough to render his preaching the expression of his own intimate persuasions, and the cheerful employment of his life.

1808.

May.

Of the practical strength of his faith and piety he was permitted to give us a memorable example, during that sudden attack, which he sustained, a few years since, in all the fulness of his health and expectations, when he was busily pre-



paring for a publick service. Those, who then saw him brought down, in an instant, and without any previous warning, to the gates of death, can never forget the steadfastness, with which he received the alarm, and the singular humility and composure, with which he waited, during many days, doubtful of life, and expecting every hour to leave all, that was dear to him on earth, to present himself before God.\* Next to the satisfaction of behaving well ourselves, in an hour of trial, is that of witnessing the tranquillity of our friends, and finding, that we need not fear for their example, while flesh and heart is failing, for God is the strength of their heart and their portion forever.

SEC. XVII.

1808.

The same steadfastness, and tranquil foresight of his dissolution God has enabled him to exhibit, through the whole of the distressing and lingering disorder, of which he died. A few hours before his death, he overheard some conversation respecting those, who should pass the night with him ; and he summoned strength enough to articulate " God is with me !" The great interest, with which some persons always watch the

1811.

\* It was in the year 1808, that he was attacked with a profuse hemorrhage from the lungs, from the effects of which he never completely recovered. But the disease, of which he died, had not probably the remotest connexion with this bleeding. It appeared upon examination, that the lower orifice of the stomach was almost entirely closed by a schirrhous tumour, or hard swelling, which on the inside was ulcerated. So completely was the passage of the pylorus obliterated, that a drop of water could hardly be pressed through it from the stomach, which was full.

SEC. XVII. last intelligent exercises of a spirit, which has been  
1811. warned of its departure, was here not disappointed. No one could leave his presence without a secret consciousness, that the collected, intelligent, and strong indications, which he daily gave, of profound submission to God's will, and unshaken faith in his gospel, were very much to be preferred to the indistinct raptures and ejaculations, which are so often caught from the lips of the dying, where more is supposed to be meant, than meets the ear, and more is put into the speech, than was originally contained in the thought. The approach of death gave no new colour to his faith ; and he has left us a proof, which will long be remembered, not of the truth indeed, but of the power of those principles, by which, for nearly twenty years, he had preached and practised.

He was a *faithful* as well, as a pious man. Of his fidelity in his ministerial office, you, my hearers, are of course better judges, than the preacher. But from his extraordinary correctness of manners, and disposition to method in the disposal of his time, great fidelity might be expected in what he regarded, as his duty ; and this sentiment as well, as the desire of doing good, would engage so careful a mind, as his, in the punctilious discharge of the duties of his profession. The prosperity of this ancient church was peculiarly dear to him. He looked back with veneration almost unbounded on some of his predecessors here ; and while he breathed much of their spirit, he successfully

emulated their merits. He was a happy example of that correct and rational style of evangelical preaching, of which the yet lamented Clarke has left so fair a specimen. Our departed brother had long been employed on a history of the First Church; and was engaged in the analysis of the works and character of Chauncy, when his progress was arrested by the disease, of which he died, and he was called to join the company of those great and good men, whom he had before known only in their works, but now face to face.

SEC. XVII.

1811.

Such is the constitution of society among us, that much of the care of our literary and charitable institutions devolves upon those clergymen, who have disposition and qualifications for the task. Mr. Emerson's industry, integrity, accuracy, and fidelity were well known in the numerous societies, of which he was a member. The town has lost a diligent observer of its youth and their education; the Academy and Historical Society an associate greatly interested in their flourishing state; the University an attentive overseer. The clergy throughout the country have lost a hospitable and liberal brother; his family a most careful and excellent father, husband, and master; and his friends an honourable and faithful friend.

O 'tis well

With him. But who knows what the coming hour,  
Veil'd in thick darkness, brings for us?

SEC. XVII. The following is, we believe, a correct list of his  
 1811. acknowledged publications.

1. Sermon at Harvard, 4 July, 1794.
2. Sermon at the artillery election, Boston, 1799.
3. Sermon before the Roxbury Charitable Society, 1800.
4. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Robert Smiley, 23 September, 1801.
5. Boston Oration, 4 July, 1802.
6. Sermon on the death of Rev. Dr. Thacher, 1802.
7. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Thomas Bedé, 1803.
8. Sermon on the death of madam Bowdoin, 1803.
9. Sermon before the Boston Female Asylum, 1805.
10. Sermon on the death of Charles Austin, 1806.
11. Discourse before the Humane Society, 1807.
12. The first, second, third, and seventh discourses in the fourth number of the Christian Monitor, with the prayers annexed to each discourse.
13. A selection of psalms and hymns, embracing all the varieties of subject and metre, suitable for private devotion and the worship of churches. 12mo. 1808.
14. Sermon at the ordination of Rev. Mr. Clark, Burlington, 1810.

His father was son of Rev. Joseph Emerson and Mary his wife, daughter of Rev. Samuel Moody of York. The following extract from an obituary notice of his early death is dated

“Concord, Nov. 1st. 1776.

On the morning of the Lord's day, the 20th of October last, died at Rutland, on Otter creek, the Rev. Mr. William Emerson, pastor of the church of Christ in this town, in the 35th year of his age. His zeal for the liberties of his country, which appeared from the beginning of the present troubles, animated him to accompany his brethren in the reinforcement lately sent by this state to our army at Ticonderoga, as chaplain of a regiment. But the hardships, to which he was exposed, soon overcame his delicate constitution, and brought on the symptoms of a bilious fever; which, when he had proceeded a few miles on his return, attacked him with greater violence, and prevailed, until his Lord called him from the labours and sufferings of this life to receive his reward.”



GOOD MEN ALWAYS DESIRE THE PRESENCE OF GOD.

## A SERMON,

DELIVERED AT FIRST CHURCH, BOSTON, 17 JULY, 1808, THE DAY  
OF LEAVING THE PLACE OF WORSHIP FOR A NEW EDIFICE,  
BY WILLIAM EMERSON, THE PASTOR.

*Exod. xxxiii. 15.*

If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence.

WE have arrived, my brethren, at so noticeable a period in the history of our church, that I was unable to restrain myself from addressing you, on the singular occasion. For sufficient reasons, and, I hope, for our own and the common benefit in time to come, we are about to abandon this house, which, for ninety-five years, has been used, as a place of worship. In resigning it to a ruin, which, in a few years, would, in spite of all our exertions, inevitably have overtaken it, and which, in a few years more, will creep over all terrestrial things, we are naturally led to review the records of our society. We feel a strong inclination to recur to the days of our fathers, and trace the most memorable passages in their christian pilgrimage. This duty I had proposed to my-



self, in looking forward to the day, which we now behold. An unforeseen, and, to me, awful dispensation of providence however, in suspending the exercise of my ministry, seemed to cover this purpose, and all my other purposes, with a veil of darkness. But that God, whose province it is to heal as well, as to wound, is prolonging a life, which was apparently destined to immediate waste. May it be in mercy to my and your souls ! Blessed God ! “ If thy presence go not with me, carry me not up hence ! ” If thy pleasure may not prosper in my hand, take away utterly that life, which thou hast so severely threatened ! For thy favour is life, and thy loving kindness is better than life. Nevertheless, O God, not my will, but thine be done !

Since then it seems to be the will of heaven, that I should resume my pastoral labours, I cannot, I say, deny myself the pleasure of putting you in remembrance of the divine conduct, towards this church, in former generations, and of imploring, with you, the divine presence in our contemplated removal. It will hardly deserve the name of a discourse ; and, were not my situation perfectly well known, I should sit in silence with you, and meditate on the desolation hastening upon these hallowed walls. But I cast myself on your candour and kindness, which, in most instances, have exceeded my expectations, and my deserts in all.

The words, which I place at the head of my discourse, were spoken in an address to God by the hebrew legislator. On his way from Egypt to Canaan with the israelitish tribes, he was favoured of Jehovah with frequent interviews. The Deity is said to have conversed with him “ face to face, as a man talketh

with his friend." He was directed what course to pursue, when to travel, and where to rest. A cloud by day, and a fire by night, were tokens of the divine presence, and formed the guidance and consolation of the journeying Jews.

Moses had now received the ten commandments from the mouth of Jehovah. During his stay in the mount however, the rebellious disposition of the people broke forth, in a request to Aaron, that he would make them a god to go before them. At this unpardonable instance of infidelity, the anger of the Lord was justly kindled, and he said to Moses, "Depart, and go up hence, thou, and the people, which thou hast brought up out of the land of Egypt ; and I will send an angel before thee ; for I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiff-necked people, lest I consume thee in the way. And when the people heard these evil tidings, they mourned, and no man did put on him his ornaments." As for Moses, he was overwhelmed with sorrow. Though innocent himself of the great transgression, he was yet alive to its dangers and consequences, with respect to the people ; and as much, as he censured their folly, he was determined to share in their fate. He interceded for their salvation, and could not endure the thought of being deprived of the conduct of Jehovah. Irksome, as was a precarious residence in the wilds of Arabia, and pleasing, as was the prospect of resting in the land of Canaan, he was willing to renounce the last, and endure the first, rather than lose the protection and presence of the Lord. "And he said, if thine own presence go not with us, carry us not up hence."

The spontaneous prayer of any pilgrim to a better world ! Yes, good men always desire the presence of God. As they love what is excellent, so they desire to be intimately acquainted with the source of excellence. They have no relish for worldly advantages, if they cannot be enjoyed with the presence of God. Offer them power, and they reject it ; wealth, and they despise it ; pleasure, and they loathe it, if these goods are not to be possessed, except at the expense of their integrity, and their religious principles. They will not violate the laws of God to obtain the favour of man. They will not inhabit the most fruitful soil, and under the happiest skies, and in the most magnificent buildings, if they must be confined to the company of the wicked, and deprived of the institutes and instructions of religion. Virtuous men, from the beginning of the world, have manifested a disposition to separate themselves from the workers of iniquity, and put themselves under the protection of heaven.

This truth might be illustrated by numerous examples in sacred history.

Abel had no sweet communion with his brother Cain, and Enoch preferred walking with God, in solitude, to mixing with the idolaters of his age. Noah sufficiently testified his desire for the presence of God, by seceding from the corrupt antediluvians, whom his preaching could not reform, and by building an ark for the salvation of his house. Abraham showed his regard for the divine presence, in renouncing his kindred and country, and seeking a habitation in a strange land. Isaac was under the influence of the same religious principle, and accordingly preserves himself and his

family pure from the contagion of idolatry and vice, then prevalent in the world. And the same principle of piety actuated the vows and obedience of Jacob, who solemnly promised, "If the Lord will bring me in safety to the land of my fathers, then the Lord shall be my God." Joseph was an illustrious instance of a man, who desired the presence of God ; who kept his integrity amidst the most pressing temptations ; and who uniformly adhered to truth, conscience, and duty, whatever the adherence might cost him. Moses too, from the time, when he was called, to the day of his death, seems to have felt the same reverence and anxiety for the divine approbation, which he expresses in the text. He was ever unwilling to go, where God went not, and ever desirous to dwell, where God had pitched his abode. "He chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season ; for he had respect unto the recompense of reward." The same likewise may be said of Joshua, Caleb, Samuel, and David, who all desired to enjoy the divine favour, and to be guided by the divine hand. The last mentioned character especially was remarkable for the warmth of his devout affections, and the zeal he bore for the offices of the sanctuary. "When," says he, "shall I come, and appear before God ? I will go unto the altar of God, unto God my exceeding joy. How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts ! Lord ! I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place, where thine honour dwelleth. One thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my



life, to behold the beauty of the Lord, and to inquire in his temple."

To this list of worthies I might add the names of numbers of the hebrew prophets, who endured all sorts of temporal evil, rather than forfeit their allegiance to God, and their interest in his favour. See, in particular, Job, Nehemiah, and Daniel, tormented with the sharpest afflictions, which were either incurred or borne from a regard to the presence and promises of God.

The catalogue might be swelled by the mention of a host of christian confessors and martyrs, headed by the founder of our religion, who were all devoted to the will of God, who made his service their employment, and his glory the end of their ambition. Hear the blessed Jesus, amid the agonies, which he suffered in the garden. "The hour is come, and what shall I say? Shall I say, Father, save me from this hour? No; thou knowest, that I came not to do my will, but thine. Glorify thyself." Similar was the language of all his apostles as soon, as they were instructed in the nature of the gospel. They had no will but God's; and their seasons of travelling, and their places of rest, were entirely under the direction of Providence. They left their all, whether it were little or much, to follow Christ. Parents, children, and wives, lands, houses, and reputation, nowise hindered their obedience to the intimations of heaven. In the face of reproach and imprisonment, of tortures and death, they hesitated not to go, where God went, and to speak what he commanded. No. "None of these things moved them, neither counted they their lives dear unto them, so that they might finish their course with joy, and the ministry, which they had received."



Ecclesiastical as well, as biblical history, furnishes the lives of many, whose piety, and fidelity to their religion, in the midst of bitter and sanguinary persecutions, are an honour to the christian name. Think of the universally harassed condition of christians, until the reign of Constantine. Recollect their sufferings under the cruel Dioclesian. Consider also the distressing and wicked wars, which differing sects of christians have waged with each other. In these various calamities, multitudes have suffered bravely, for what they have supposed to be the truth, and for the sake of enjoying that favour of God, with which the practice of virtue is connected.

If, my brethren, you go back only as far, as the beginning of the seventeenth century, you will find vast numbers of men, who honestly and gloriously contemned the means of living, and the honours of the world, when weighed with the dictates of conscience and fidelity to their God. "Take away these goods," said they, "they are not worth our peace." Two thousand ministers of the gospel, at the period of which I am speaking, were ejected from their livings for their nonconformity to the church of England; and many of them were hunted, with a malignant fury, from corner to corner, until the burden of their sorrows sunk them to the grave.

The conduct of the puritan fathers of Newengland illustrates the same sentiment of heroick piety. You well know, my brethren, the motives, which governed them in leaving the wealth, society, and comforts of Europe, for the wilds of America. They were unwilling to dwell, where they could not enjoy the presence

of God. Resolved on worshipping God in spirit and in truth, they accounted no enterprises hazardous, and no sacrifices dear, which promised them so rich a privilege. They valued their country, but they valued more dearly the rights of conscience. They loved their lives, but they loved their God more. They esteemed the civil and local immunities of their nation, but they esteemed, far more highly, the opportunity of educating their children in the fear of God ; in a knowledge of the first and inalienable duties of the rational nature ; and of rearing a pious, sober, and righteous generation. It was under the impression of these sentiments, that the pilgrims first sought an asylum in Holland, and afterwards crossed the Atlantick. It was from a regard to the approbation of God, that, as soon as they touched these shores, they dedicated themselves and their children to his service ; erected temples for his worship ; instituted colleges for the promotion of science and virtue ; and sowed the seeds of learning, piety, and good manners, wherever they planted a tree, or broke the soil. The neighbouring university and the numerous inferiour schools of literature, in this commonwealth, are so many vestiges of their wisdom and beneficence. In particular, do the churches in this metropolis and vicinity give proof of their zeal for religion ; of their concern for the house of the Lord and its services ; and of their determination to support, at whatever expense, the interests of learning and morals.

With what reverence and gratitude do we cherish the memory of men, who seemed to incorporate themselves with whatever promised to advance the Redeemer's kingdom and the interests of posterity ! Wherever we

cast our eyes, we are saluted with tokens of their piety and care. So sincere and zealous were they to give a tincture of holiness to all their doings, that their civil polity was in a manner borrowed from the bible. They valued the approbation of their minds, more than the applause of the world, and they feared no other power, than God.

Such, my brethren, were the founders of this church, who came to this country to worship God agreeably to the dictates of conscience ; to serve him rather with the mind, than with the precisions of bodily posture ; and to honour him rather by a remarkable piety and holiness of life, than by a ritual, addressed to the imagination and the senses.

The history, which precedes this discourse, is evidence, that these principles were kept in view by your worthy predecessors. They were uniformly the supporters of piety, order, and the rights of conscience. From the gathering of this church, to the present hour, its members have not ceased to worship God in the name of Christ. They have regularly maintained the ministry and ordinances of our common Lord. They have been attentive to the order and discipline of the churches, and the edification of individuals. And whilst they have duly respected the forms of antiquity, and opposed an innovating temper, they have cherished a laudable spirit of improvement. The freedom of our civil government has tended to abate the rigour of ecclesiastical courts ; and the severity, with which discipline was formerly administered, has latterly been unknown among you. You have begun to believe, that the power of councils is advisory merely ; that the only platform

of church government, which is legitimate and obligatory, is contained in the scriptures ; that there is, upon earth, no infallible head of the church ; that we have only one master, even Christ, and one only father, even God.

These articles of belief, my brethren, have, for many years, been firmly fixed in the minds of the members of this church. May these capital objects of our religious association be kept constantly in view !

Through all the changes, incident to an ancient institution, there has never been a time, in which you have not devoted the Lord's day, either by yourselves, or in union with a sister church, to the worship of God and christian edification.

The covenant, which was signed at Charlestown, on the twenty-seventh of August, 1630, was renewed in Boston, on the sixteenth day of October, 1632. It was then that this ecclesiastical establishment was begun. In that year was built the first edifice, which was ever reared for publick worship in the town of Boston. It stood at some distance from this place, and was far less spacious and magnificent, than even this ancient house. But its thatched roof and walls of mud answered all the purposes of marble temples with their gilded domes and cushioned altars. Enclosed in that humble meeting-house were some of the noblest and purest spirits, that ever bore the christian name. There the venerable Wilson exercised the functions of the pastoral office with the meekness of Moses, and the benevolence of St. John. There the learned, ethical, and eloquent Cotton expounded the scriptures with the boldness of an inspired prophet, and dictated, with holy zeal, the measures of both church and state. There the excellent



Winthrop, the inflexible Dudley, and the godly Nowell alternately prayed and prophesied, and gave the whole weight of their talents and influence in favour of evangelical principles and manners.

In the second edifice, which was completed in 1640, and stood till 1711, were still heard the teachings of Wilson and Cotton. It was there too, where the copious and masterly Norton urged home the doctrines of the gospel, upon the consciences of sinners ; where Davenport lifted his aged voice in pious supplications ; where Allen guarded the flock against the fanaticism of innovators ; where Oxenbridge poured forth his eloquence before the great congregation ; where the scientific Wadsworth perspicuously taught the way of salvation ; where the energetick Bridge called sinners to repentance ; and where the persecuted Moodey and the unoffending Bailey generously lent their aid to the service of the sanctuary.

The present house was built in 1712, and has resounded with the instructions of Wadsworth and Bridge, whom I have already named, and here my three immediate predecessors have publicly laboured. Yes, here the worthy Foxcroft exhorted his hearers to become reconciled unto God, through a blessed mediator. Here Chauncy's erudition dispelled the glooms of ignorance and fanaticism, and taught his hearers to offer to their God a reasonable service. And here the admirable Clarke, equally distinguished for his biblical and classical knowledge, charmed his hearers to the knowledge and love of their duty.

In addition to the regular services of the ministers of this church, the several edifices, which they have built,



have been devoted to the weekly labours of the neighbouring clergy. As early, as the settlement of Mr. Cotton, the 5th day or thursday lecture was begun to be preached. It was maintained by the ministers of this church, until 1679, when, at the request of the magistrates, and by a vote of this church, the ministers of the Old North and Old South churches, then the only ministers in town, were invited to take their turns in preaching this lecture. From that period to the present, as often, as a minister adjoins himself to the Boston Association, he is requested, as a thing of course, to take his turn in preaching the thursday lecture. There was a time, when this lecture was suspended, about ten months, in the years 1775 and 1776. Dr. Andrew Eliot preached the last of the old series, and the first of the new. How many excellent sermons has this institution been the means of producing ! What an incentive to laudable emulation among the divines of this metropolis !

But this place is henceforth no more to be a scene of moral and religious entertainment. We are going to the fourth spot and the fifth house, which have been devoted by this church to divine service. The history and habits of our society show, that it has indulged no superstition in regard to the places, modes, and times of religious homage.

We sometimes wish, and wish in vain, for the clear intimations of the divine will, which the Jews enjoyed. To us no Urim answers. For us no priest, in gorgeous habiliments, supplicates the divine benediction. The time was, when a certain mountain in Judea alone was deemed holy ; and the belief still is, in many parts of christendom, that particular forms are exclusively ac-

ceptable to the most high God. But, to rational christians, the hour has long since come, when true worshippers worship the Father in spirit and in truth ; when every place is accounted holy, in which the one living and true God is adored by enlightened understandings and honest hearts, and where the rituals of religion are made subservient to a virtuous life. To the ancient jew indeed Jehovah declared, “ In all places, where I record my name, there will I come unto thee and bless thee.” And true it was, that, where that awful name was not inscribed, the priest offered no sacrifice, and the prophet waited in vain the inspiration of his God. Now, wherever there is a heart to pray, there the altar and the sacrifice are made ready. Now, wherever two or three are met together, in the name of Christ, there his father and our father, his God and our God will be in the midst of us, to listen to our requests, to pardon our sins, to sustain us under the troubles of life, and to grant us consolation and encouragement in our heavenly course.

Farewell, then, ye venerable walls ! you are not necessary to the purity of our worship. Much as we have loved this ancient habitation of the Most High, and notwithstanding the tenderness, with which we would treat the feelings of local devotion, we disclaim the idea, that, in relinquishing this for a more spacious and convenient church, we are guilty of robbing God of his dues, or the community of their sacred rights. No. We violate none of the laws of God in bettering our accommodations for publick worship. We break none of the commandments of Jesus Christ, in exchanging a house, which is exposed to the noise and dust of a

publick street, for one, which is remote from the business and amusements of the town.

To my heart this edifice is dear, from various circumstances. But to say, that the removal is attended with no painful sensations, we do not. Here it was, my brethren, that I received the charge of your souls, and here have I often renewed to you my vows of fidelity. Here we have frequently sitten, under the banner of Jesus, and his fruit has been sweet to our taste. How often have we here eaten the bitter herbs of penitence for past offences, and taken to our lips the cup of joy and salvation ! Here have I baptized and instructed your children, endeavouring to form them to the temper and habits of Jesus.

In uttering my own feelings, I have no doubt of expressing yours. It is true, not one of you present contributed personally, either of your wealth or wisdom, to the identical establishments, of which I have been speaking. But, God be praised, you have continued to walk in the steps of your fathers. There has never been a time, when you have been unwilling to provide things decent and honourable in the sight of all men, for the support of religious instruction, and for rendering commodious and amiable the tabernacles of our God. The church, which you have recently built, and in which you expect shortly to worship the God of your fathers, is another confirmation of the truth, deduced from the text, that good men desire the presence of God. If there were no zeal in this society for the maintenance of sabbatical rites, the advantageous arrangement, which you have lately made, would not have taken place. However therefore we may in this age be blamed for

our inferiority in religious zeal to our puritan ancestors, we are yet willing to make some sacrifices for the honour of God and the religion of Jesus. In every part of our country, there are some to be found, and thousands, I hope, in this capital of the state, who would be unhappy in a privation of sacred privileges, and who are willing to deny themselves many enjoyments, and practise many mortifications, for the love they bear to the interests of religion, and the hope they entertain of its blissful rewards.

There is in man a propensity to roam. He loves novelty and variety. Were it not for this disposition, no improvements would be made ; no sciences nor arts would be cultivated. Society would remain stationary, or rather be retrograde. Every man would contentedly continue in the condition, in which his father left him, and indolence, torpor, and sensuality would creep on all the bodily and mental faculties. Look at the condition of the chinese. Shut up within themselves, they have no enterprise nor ambition. The understanding is shackled, and errors are perpetuated ; and, though they may be free from the agitations of more improved society, their repose is that of the grave.

And now, Lord, what wait we for ? What is our heart's desire ? Is it wealth ? Or splendour ? Or power ? Or the pleasures of sense ? No, thou omniscient being, thou knowest, that we want thy presence. We want the rest, which springs from peace of conscience, from sense of repentance, hope of thy pardon, and the prospect of heaven. If thy presence go not with us in the bestowment of these favours, carry us not up hence.



Justified therefore, my brethren, to our own consciences, in this important transaction, let our future conduct be such, as shall meet the approbation of God. For let it never be forgotten, that, if we would have God's presence go with us, we must go with God's presence. We must fear the divine power, imitate the divine benevolence, and obey the intimations of the divine will.

Finally. In whatever place and under whatever circumstances we may hereafter celebrate the praises of God, let us be careful to render him an acceptable service. Henceforth, if possible, let our worship be purified from all superstition. Let no motives of worldly interest or ambition enter into our religious performances. Let us carry with us this truth to our new temple, and bear it about with us continually, that the public offices of devotion are designed to promote the practice of virtue ; and that, if they fail of attaining this end, the Almighty will demand of us, " Who hath required this at your hands to tread my courts ?"

May the author of wisdom and power teach us the knowledge, and aid us in the performance of our whole duty, that, having served him voluntarily, sincerely, and faithfully, on the earth, we may at last be admitted to the general assembly and church of the first born in heaven ! Amen.



THE DESIRES OF GOOD MEN WILL BE GRATIFIED.

## A SERMON,

DELIVERED AT FIRST CHURCH, BOSTON, ON THURSDAY, 21 JULY,  
1808, WHEN DIVINE SERVICE WAS FIRST PERFORMED IN  
THAT EDIFICE. BY WILLIAM EMERSON, THE PASTOR.

*Exod. xxxiii. 14.*

My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.

AND is there a place in the universe, where thou art not ? Omnipresent and eternal God ! Whither shall we go from thy spirit ? Or whither shall we fly from thy presence ? The immensity of space is thy constant abode, and every portion of it is filled with thy glory.

Yes, my brethren, the vast creation is the dwelling-place of the Most High. Every ray of light is a proof of his presence. The awful womb of night is the pavilion of his rest. You feel his breath in every wind, that blows. His pencil is at work in every opening flower. His voice is audible in the musick of the forest as well, as in the thunder of the skies and the roar of earthquakes. To mortal eyes he is indeed invisible. You go forward, but he is not there ; and backward,

but you do not perceive him ; yet he is as really present in this place, as ye yourselves ; and you can as easily fly from yourselves, as from the beams of his eye, or the grasp of his hand.

Although however the presence of God is universal, it is not yet universally manifest. The Deity was as truly present in the bush, which Moses saw, before, as after, it was enveloped in flames. He was as really existing in all portions of the aerial expanse, always, as when the pillars of smoke and of fire conducted the steps of the hebrew pilgrims.

To this extraordinary and benignant display of the divine presence the venerable prophet alludes in the text. But a most heinous offence of the Jews awakened the anger of the Almighty, and caused him to threaten them with the loss of his presence. As God however is usually better to us, than our fears, and always better, than our deserts, so, in the case before us, he repented of the neglect, which he thought to show to the erring Israelites ; and he showed it not. Upon their penitence and promises of obedience, he blotted out their sin, and renewed his declarations to conduct and settle them in the land of Canaan. “ My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.”

Although there is a propensity in man to roam, yet there is also in his nature an almost unconquerable love of rest. These two permanent principles in human nature the Creator has set over, one against the other, as mutual, salutary checks to the excesses of each. Thus if, in the ardour of youth, we love to go in quest of adventures, in the torpor of age we are desirous of repose. We are with difficulty prevailed upon to quit our native

air, and remove to scenes, with which we have associated no sentiments of tenderness and affliction.

Yet no man, in this probationary state, is permitted to gratify all the wishes of his heart. Good and evil are wisely blended together, in every stage of our terrestrial career. Contrary to their wishes, many times, those, who love tranquillity, are obliged to enter into the tumult and confusion of the world; and there are those again, who delight in the bustle and noise of the multitude, who are compelled to walk in the path of seclusion.

Such, nevertheless, is the versatile nature of man, the all conquering power of habit, and the unchangeable goodness of God, that the ingredients of happiness are ever within the reach of virtuous men. A man, at ease in his conscience, and satisfied with his own endeavours, can hardly be rendered miserable. A faithful servant of God may assuredly calculate on the favour of him, whose favour is life, and whose loving kindness is better than life. The presence of God may be always expected by a virtuous community. The desires of good men, having for their object the approbation and guidance of heaven, cannot fail of being eventually gratified. If God is infinitely good, he never would have created human beings, unless, in favour of those beings, he intended to display the benignity of his nature. The very existence of man is a proof of the goodness of God. The desire of happiness, in a creature, evinces the possibility of a happy condition. The appetites of hunger and thirst afford proof, that bread and water may be obtained; and they, who hunger and thirst after righteousness, are already pronounced happy; so certain is it, that they will be filled.

The whole tenour of the scripture promises is in favour of the sentiment, that God is the protector of good men, and that he will grant them the desire of their hearts. Our Saviour teaches, that God is better, than the best of parents. “If ye, being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly father give good things unto them who ask him.”

The conduct of the divine providence towards the virtuous, in every age, has been a beautiful illustration of the same consolatory truth. Recollect, my brethren, the lives of those eminently good men, whose pious desires were mentioned in the preceding discourse. You will find, that they had a sense of the divine favour, and a hope of the divine guidance. See the presence of God with Abel, in the witness which he received, that he was righteous. Enoch, before his translation, had this testimony, that he pleased God. The presence of God was eminently with Noah, whilst building the ark, and was afterwards his salvation and joy. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, though they did not receive the promises, had yet the favour of God, in this world, and died in expectation of a better country, than Canaan supplied. The presence of God was with the patriarch Joseph, and the divine counsels wonderfully prospered in his hand. And Moses surely, among whose records the text is found, was extraordinarily the subject of divine favour. So too were Joshua, Caleb, and the posterity of the hebrew emigrants. Jehovah fulfilled the promise, which he had made to their fathers; his presence went with them to the country of Palestine, where he gave them rest. It was a rest from the yoke of bondage, which



they endured in Egypt ; it was a rest from the wearisome journies, which they were obliged to take in the arabian wilderness ; it was, lastly, a rest from the wars, which they necessarily waged with savage nations. But it was not a rest from the ordinary labours of life, nor from the calamities, to which our nature is at all times exposed.

Beginning with the sacred founder of our religion, and tracing the history of his apostles and followers, through every successive period to the present, we shall have additional proof, that good men may be sure of the guidance of heaven. In every age of the world, God's presence is with them, and he gives them rest ; not indeed a rest of sloth ; not a rest of voluptuousness ; and not always a rest from the arrows of slander, and the sword of persecution ; for every age, probably, can furnish its Neros and Domitians. But the good are generally secure of a tranquil life, and are always untroubled by the persecutions of a guilty conscience, and the multitude of sorrows, which usually infest the path of the wicked. The rest, which God gave to good men, under the former dispensation, and to the early christians, was a rest from the unfruitful works of darkness, and from that sorrow of the world, which worketh death. And this kind of rest is the infallible portion of the righteous in the worst countries, and in the worst times. The good man cannot be deprived of his confidence in God, and in the final rectitude and benevolence of the divine administration. To be able to praise God in adversity as well, as prosperity, is to enjoy a peace, which passeth all understanding. To be superiour to the petty disasters and vexa-



tions of life ; to be able steadily to pursue, what is bravely designed ; to be deaf to the noise of a turbulent world, that the whispers of conscience may be distinctly heard ; and to descend with cheerfulness and hope into the valley of the shadow of death ; this is the peace of the just, and the most valuable rest, which, on this side heaven, remains for the people of God.

May those of us, who have experienced the presence of God, in moments of danger and affliction, and been able to commit our souls to a faithful Creator, when the terrible image of death was staring us in the face, be duly grateful to the almighty physician of soul and body ! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his holy name ! Bless the Lord, O my soul, and forget not all his benefits !

Such a rest, my brethren, as I have been describing, was eminently the portion of those worthy men, who gave a name and a character to Newengland. Where was there ever a people, since the age of miracles, more favoured of heaven, than these puritan pilgrims ?

The governour and company of Massachusetts Bay, who laid the foundation of this christian society, in 1630, met innumerable difficulties in accomplishing their pious designs. But the presence of God was with them to dispel their fears, to increase their faith, and to animate their labours. The church, which they here planted, became a fruitful field. Their efforts to enlarge and enrich it were marvellously blessed. The expectations of our fathers were gloriously realized. A few years of toil were succeeded by an age of improvement and of rest. They were no longer tormented with the warwhoop by night, nor with the sight of con-

flagrations and ruin by day. We rejoice to reflect upon the success, which crowned the exertions of men, who were warmed with a love of truth, freedom, and the general welfare to make the most noble sacrifices. We, this day, look back with admiration and gratitude to God, when we think of the powerful talents, exemplary lives, and faithful services of a long succession of pastors and teachers, who have laboured in this christian vineyard, and who are now at rest with God.

Let us be thankful, my brethren, for all the good effects, which have resulted from this institution, in times past ; and for all the advantages, of whatever nature, which it now enjoys.

As far, as fallible mortals can judge, this day is auspicious to our interests, as a religious community. In place of an ancient and decaying house, situated in the most busy and populous part of the town, we possess this new, commodious, and beautiful edifice ; where, in the silence of retirement, yet in the centre of the territory of the metropolis, we may worship the Lord our God. Not that we condemn those venerable walls, which have enclosed so many pious worshippers, and which have so often resounded with excellent instructions and the divine praises. No, thou God of our fathers, thou knowest, that we, thy servants, “ take pleasure in the stones, and favour the dust thereof.”

Nevertheless, we rejoice in a more decent and comfortable church. And we bless God, who giveth skill to the children of men, for his remarkable protection of and smiles upon its artificers ; for the fortunate circumstances, that have attended its erection and completion ; for the activity and firmness, gentleness and discretion,

which have marked the conduct of the committees of the society, in effecting this important arrangement ; and for the entire union, subsisting among us.

Ah, how good and pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity ! Next to the favour of God, it is natural and right for good men to love the approbation of God's children. They may not indeed seek the praise of men, as an end ; but it delights their hearts to know, that their services are acceptable to the multitude of their brethren. It cheers and encourages them, in their labours for the good of the community, to know, that they have the wishes, prayers, and cooperation of the virtuous.

Withhold not this encouragement, my brethren, to well doing, when it is in the power of your hearts and tongues to bestow it. It is impossible, in all cases, to reward the patriotick for their publick-spirited exertions. The Israelites were unable to repay the beneficence of Moses with any thing in their gift ; the least they could do, was to give him their gratitude and confidence. Who does not admire the self-denial and enterprise of Abraham, and what one of his descendants did not reflect on his faith, piety, and benevolence, with the highest degree of gratitude ? In every age of the world, those men are to be ranked among our greatest benefactors, who exert themselves to rear temples to the living and true God. We honour and love our parents, who brought us into the world, and nursed our infancy, and guided our childhood ; but those are our parents in the truest sense, who labour to create us anew in Christ Jesus ; who travail, as it were, in birth again, until Christ be formed within us, the hope of glory ; who indoctrinate us into the principles of the gospel, and mould us into the image of its blessed founder.

In this connexion, the leading members of this society, who have originated and carried into effect the rebuilding of the house of our God, are entitled to our grateful acknowledgments. May their successful efforts in this honourable design serve to unite us still more firmly in the faith and charity of the gospel ; and may the bond of peace, by which the members of this fraternity have been bound together, continue to be its joy and glory to the latest posterity.

To this end, my brethren, you will keep the object of your religious association always in view. You will seek the things, which make for peace, and things, whereby one may edify another. You will do well to remember, that no professions, however pompous, no ceremonies, however splendid, no offerings, however costly, will any wise atone for moral defects. You will never, I hope, imagine, that the presence of God consists in the number of your ministers, in the riches of their learning, or in the lustre of their talents. The presence of God is really and gloriously with you, when you practise virtue ; and the absence of virtue cannot be compensated by the building of the most gorgeous temples, and exhibitions of the warmest zeal.

It cannot be too deeply imprinted on our minds, that the means of virtue are not virtue itself. The contemplation of the Deity, whether in the closet or the church, is well, if that contemplation inspires the love and imitation of his moral attributes. The Deity is a being of perfect justice, truth, wisdom, order, and benevolence. The worship of such a being naturally fills the mind with the admiration of every moral excellence. The love of God is the love of truth ; and he, who professes



to be a servant of God, and, at the same time, disregards his oath, his promise, or his asseveration, is in fact a liar. The worship of God is reverence for perfect justice. He therefore, who worships God, and yet is guilty of fraud, is either ignorant of the nature of religion, or practises hypocrisy. The homage, which christians pay in publick to the Father of the universe, is a homage to benevolence ; for he, who made all things, is the lover and preserver of his creatures. He therefore, who worships God, and is, at the same time, malevolent and selfish, is either a stranger to religion, or mocks and contemns it. Let it then be clearly understood, that, in dedicating this temple to the most high God, we dedicate ourselves to the love, reverence, and practice of virtue. We hence consecrate the society to the veneration and culture of whatsoever things are just, true, honest, lovely, and of good report.

Forever sacred be this temple to the promotion of truth and righteousness ! Long after we, my brethren, shall have mingled our dust with the ashes of our fathers, may this vineyard of the Lord be fair and flourishing ! May her branches be beautiful, and out of her roots may there come forth many strong rods, who shall defend the truth of Jesus, and uphold the rights and liberties of the church universal. Peace be within her walls, and may faith and hope and charity be her constant guests ! For our brethren and companions' sake, we will now say, peace be within her ! As in times past, so in future, may the Highest himself establish her ; and of this ancient church may it long continue to be said, this and that man was born in her !

As for this house, which we have builded, let us remember, brethren, that it is henceforth none other, than



the house of God and the gate of heaven. How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts ! We will here serve thee with gladness, we will come before thy presence with singing. We will open the gates of righteousness, we will go into them, and praise the Lord. For the services of our earthly temples are not only a figure, but a foretaste, of the worship of that temple above, which is eternal in the heavens. We cultivate in these scenes of local devotion, the same moral and intellectual powers, which we hope will be expanded and brightened, and forever exercised, in the celestial courts. Blessed be this day, which cometh unto us in the name of the Lord, and let the peace of God rest upon this house ! Always may it have the power to call off our views and affections from a world of sense and sin, and exalt them to a world of intellect and order ! Ever may it be a place, where the Father of all shall be worshipped in spirit and in truth ; a place of serious inquiry and religious improvement ; where the sympathy of kindred souls shall heighten the glow of devotion ; where the sweet communion of saints shall strengthen the piety, and cement the love of the brotherhood ; and where the sincerity and fervour of our prayers, and the spirituality and harmony of our hymns, shall form at least some faint resemblance to the worship of the general assembly and church of the first born in heaven.

It is there only, my brethren, where the presence of God affords fulness of joy, and where rivers of pleasure flow always at his right hand. Think not therefore to obtain permanent rest in this sublunary scene. Every thing within, around, above, below, is continually

saying to us, Arise ye and depart ; for this is not your rest. Heaven is the place of your happy destination. In that region of purity and peace there will be an everlasting end of cares and toils and pains ; and its blessed inhabitants are made pillars in the temple of God, and *go no more out.*

Ah ! when, my brethren, shall we constitute part of that glorious and happy convention ? They have no longer any use for real temples, and these servile forms. The presence of God is indeed with them, and in it there is abundance of rest for the weary soul. Theirs is in truth a satisfying peace, and a blessed tranquillity. Their glorified frames know no fatigue, and their perfected spirits no weariness. No sin assails the soul ; no enemy disturbs the joy ; no affliction imbitters the bliss, of the beatified saint. All is light and peace and felicity ; and their enlarged understandings, free from prejudices and errors and doubts, emulate the knowledge and improvements of holy angels.

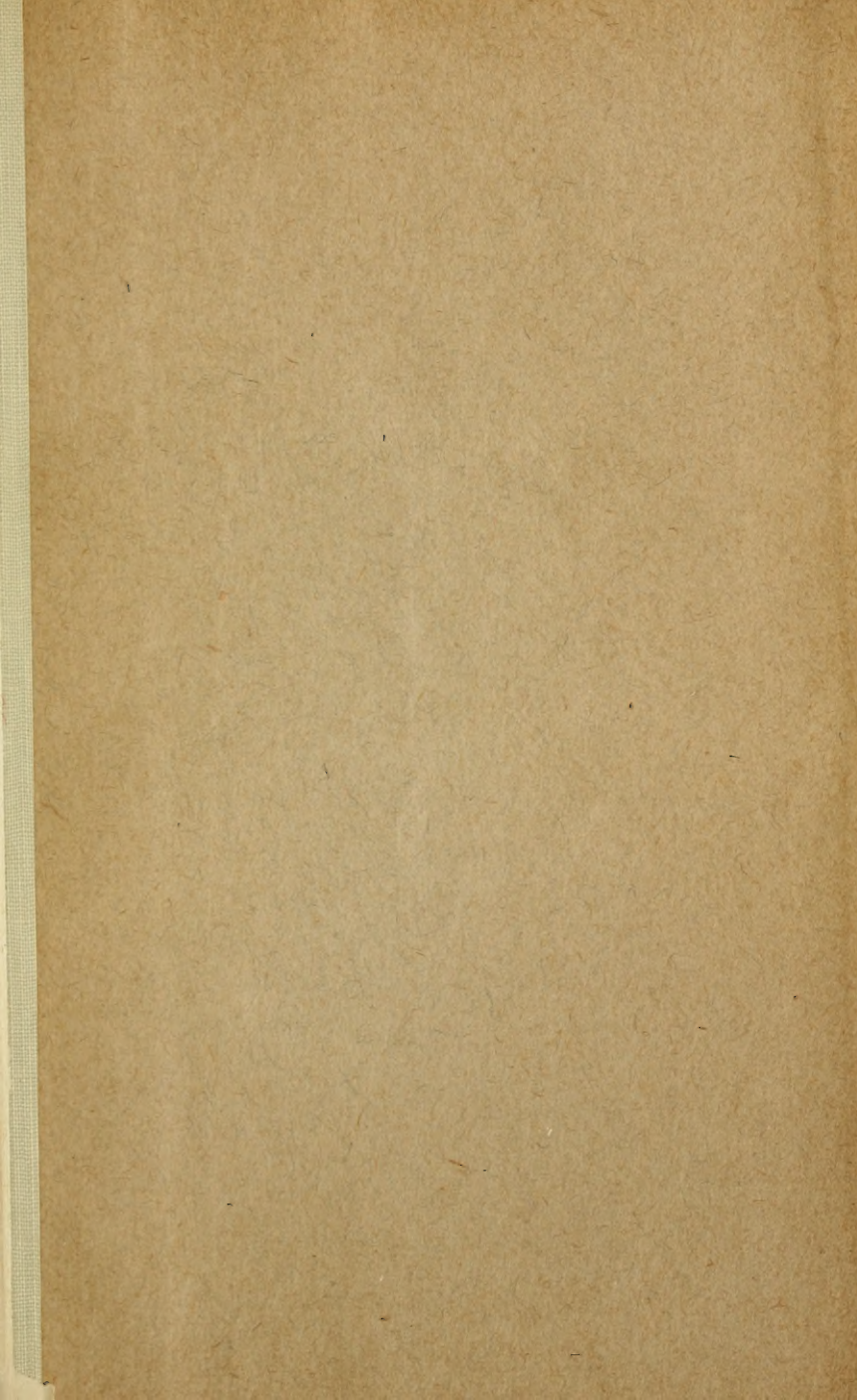
Let us be virtuous, my brethren, and this presence of God, this rest, shall be ours. By a proper reverence of God's house and worship on the earth, we shall obtain a seat in the mansions of heaven. Which may God of his mercy grant, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

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